A BRIEF
EXAMINATION
OF LORD SHEFFIELD'S
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
COMMERCE
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

IN SEVEN NUMBERS.

WITH TWO SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON AMERICAN MANUFACTURES.

PHILADELPHIA:
FROM THE PRESS OF M. CAREY.
M.DCC.XCI.

No. XXVI.

District of Pennsylvania, to wit.

BE it remembered, that, on the fourteenth day of November in the sixteenth year of the independence of the united states of America, MATHEW CAREY, of the said district, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims, as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"A brief examination of lord Sheffield's observations on the "commerce of the united states. In seven numbers. With two "supplementary notes on American manufactures." In conformity to the act of the congress of the united states, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."

SAMUEL CALDWELL,
Clerk of the district court of Pennsylvania.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS examination was commenced in the American Museum for March, 1791, and continued in the months following, as circumstances permitted, till July last. Further reflexion and opportunity have produced additional facts and some relative considerations, which are intermixed with the original materials of the six numbers already published, or are contained in *a seventh number*, and the two additional notes on manufactures, at the end of the pamphlet.

It is possible, that a question may have arisen, why an examination of a work, first published in 1783, should have been instituted in 1791? The observations of lord Sheffield have gone through six enlarged editions, and the same writer having disseminated ideas, very unfavourable to the united states, in his book upon the commerce of Ireland, it was conceived that a developement of his errors was due no less to those who are misinformed in Great Britain, than to those intereſts which are not understood in this country. It has been frequently observed, that when American affairs are discussed in Europe, lord Sheffield's work is quoted with symptoms of conviction and belief. Under circumstances like these, an examination of his allegations, predictions, and remarks, even at this day, will not, it is hoped, appear unseasonable.

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A BRIEF EXAMINATION, &c.

FIRST NUMBER.

THE facts and obſervations of this writer have, in the opinion of many of his countrymen, ſo firmly endured the touchſtone of experience, that an attempt to demonſtrate errors in both, may appear to deſerve little attention. The brevity, however, which is intended to be obſerved, may induce the parties concerned, to give theſe papers an attentive peruſal.

It is remarked, in the laſt edition of the publication referred to, "that a knowledge and conſideration of the American trade ſhould dictate to Great Britain the meaſures ſhe ought to purſue." The good ſenſe of that obſervation, in relation to the time when it was written, is admitted, without heſitation, and it is conſidered as equally proper, in regard to the preſent. It is believed, indeed, to comport moſt perfectly with the dignity and true intereſts of nations, not to induce into injurious grants thoſe foreign powers, with whom they may find occaſion to treat. No obſervations need be offered, to ſhow the reſpectability, which is acquired by negociations conducted with a liberal and magnanimous policy. It will be ſufficient to remark, that arrangements, ſolidly founded in the mutual

intereſts of the contracting parties, will always be ſatisfactory to the intelligent part of their reſpective citizens, and conſequently moſt permanent; but that injudicious grants of unreaſonable advantages, eſpecially if obtained by deceptive means, diſhonour the character of the overreaching party—lead to murmurs among the people of the miſtaken nation, often to expenſive and bloody wars—and give immenſe hazard to the commercial enterprizes, which are uſually inſtituted in conſequence of new treaties. It may be conſidered, therefore, as wiſdom in negociating nations, diligently to ſearch for their *common intereſts*, as the fitteſt ground of treaty. In order to diſcover *theſe* with eaſe, and to view them with juſt impreſſions, it is a meaſure not only of primary importance, but of indiſpenſible neceſſity, to remove eſtabliſhed errors in the public creed. It is not by way of apology, that theſe prefatory remarks are offered to all concerned, but to ſhow, that a rational purſuit of the intereſts of their reſpective countries, ſhould lead both Americans and Engliſhmen, to develope the errors, in regard to facts and opinions, diſcoverable in a publication, which appears to have been the cauſe of a change of meaſures in the Britiſh nation, or to have been intended to vindicate one which it was predetermined to make.

It is not propoſed to go into a full and regular reply to the writer of the obſervations, but rather to point out ſo many real and eſſential errors in his facts and predictions, as may ſhake the unlimited confidence, which has been repoſed in him by his countrymen, in order to lead to a different legiſlative deportment towards us. Little regard will be paid to order, in this curſory examination; but any important object, which preſents itſelf, will be briefly noticed.

THE CARRYING TRADE,

in the opinion of lord Sheffield, is loſt to the people inhabiting theſe ſtates, by their choice of independence. Let us examine the proofs. His ſeventh table ſtates the

inward tonnage of all the British provinces in North-America, in 1770, to have been 365,100 tons. From this amount are to be deducted the entries in Newfoundland, Canada, Nova-Scotia, the two Floridas, the Bahamas, and Bermuda, being 33,458 tons, which leaves the entries in those provinces that are now the united states, at 331,642 tons. We are also to deduct the ships owned by British subjects, not resident in those thirteen provinces. *Champion* considers these to have been nearly the whole in the European trade, it is believed erroneously; but they must have been very considerable; yet the return of entries of American vessels for the last year, rendered by our treasury to the house of representatives, though known to have been incomplete, from inevitable causes, amounts to above 363,000 tons, exclusive of fishing vessels*.

It is manifest, then, that the carrying trade, which results almost unaided from an agriculture that fully lades 650,000 tons of vessels to foreign ports, is considerably greater than what we enjoyed as British provinces. A very beneficial coasting trade (employing above 100,000 tons) has moreover grown up, partly from the variety of our productions and mutual wants, and partly from the introduction of manufactures, which it was believed we could never attain, and with which Great-Britain alone used to supply us. The building of ships has also increased, as we undertake hereafter to show, and the tonnage owned by the merchants of the united states, or late American provinces, was never so great as at the present moment. It is believed, moreover, that the American carriers derive greater profit from the business, than the British nation, who build ships two-thirds dearer, and who maintain themselves in what they possess of the carrying trade, at the expense of great bounties out of their public treasury, by burdensome restrictions on all their dominions, but the island of Great-Britain; and by regu-

* Our *numerous* coasters not being entered, but only renewing their licences in that trade, once a year, form no part of the 363,000 tons.

lations to favour their ſhipping, which increaſe *the price of raw materials* for their manufactures, and of bread and other *food* for their workmen and for their poor.

BEEF AND PORK,

in the opinion of our author, are not likely to become conſiderable articles of export, ſo as to interfere with Ireland for ſome time. The medium annual quantity exported from the united ſtates, before the revolution, he ſtates at 23,635 barrels. Our treaſury return, for the laſt year, exhibits 66,000 barrels, beſides 2,500 barrels of bacon, 5,200 head of horned cattle, and an equal number of hogs. The medium price of the pork was thirty-ſeven ſhillings ſterling, or about 8¼ dollars per barrel, and that of beef twenty-eight ſhillings ſterling, or about 6¼ dollars per barrel. Beſides this exportation, 263,000 tons of foreign veſſels, in a great degree, and all our own, were victualled from our markets. But a moment's reflexion will convince any man who knows this country, that it will, in the courſe of a few years, offer to all foreign nations ſuch quantities of ſalt proviſions, eſpecially of beef, as muſt ſeriouſly affect Ireland, where that article is ſold at eight dollars per barrel. It is a fact no leſs curious, than important to our proviſion trade, that the French fleet has been ſupplied with beef in the port of Boſton, at prices lower than the then current value of wheat-flour in any of our ſeaports, although our exports of the latter article are fourteen times as great as thoſe of Ireland. The owners of the interior lands of the united ſtates, on which ſettlements have but lately become conſiderable, find a particular advantage in the raiſing of cattle, becauſe thoſe animals tranſport themſelves to the ſeaports at a very ſmall expenſe.

TEAS.

It is known to perſons acquainted with American commerce, that teas of various kinds form a very conſidera-

ble proportion of our importations. The rich and the poor conſume them freely. Their value, as they were entered in our cuſtom-houſes, for the year preceding the firſt of October, 1790, was 2,784,000 dollars, which is about a ſeventh of our imports. On this very capital article of commerce and conſumption, lord Sheffield hazards the following opinions—

"That as the Engliſh Eaſt-India company can afford to ſell this tea, on full as good, if not better, terms, than the Dutch, or any other nation in Europe, *there is no danger of loſing the American market.*"

"That the allowing of the drawback upon teas exported from Great-Britain, will generally enable the Engliſh *to command the tea trade to America.*"

His lordſhip had forgotten that Canton is an open market, *equally acceſſible* to all nations. The American ſhips have accordingly gone thither, not only in the ordinary ſeaſons, but in thoſe, *which uſually reſtrain European expeditions.* The united ſtates produce the great article of *ginſeng* in large quantities, which renders this trade peculiarly convenient to them. The teas, imported by our merchants directly from China, in the laſt year, were *two millions ſix hundred and one thouſand eight hundred and fifty-two pounds*, which is fully equal to our conſumption, could we obtain coffee, and the requiſite quantity of Muſcovado ſugars, of which our people are univerſally and paſſionately fond. There were imported alſo from Europe, 416,652 pounds of teas, ſhipt from foreign ports, *other than Britiſh*, to the extreme diſadvantage of the ſhippers, and to the great injury of our merchants. But the values of commodities in any two markets are the beſt illuſtration of the relation of thoſe markets to each other. The article of tea will therefore be paſſed over, after the following ſtatement of the current prices on a given day in America and Great-Britain.

In Philadelphia, on the 5th day of November, 1790, after paying the duty inward.	In London, on the 5th day of November, 1790, after deducting the drawbacks of 12l. 10s. p. cent.
Sterling.	Sterling.
Bohea, 1/3½ or 30 cents,	Bohea, 1/5½ or 32 cents.
Souchong, 3/4½ or 75 cents,	Souchong, 4/6 or 100 cents.
Hyson, 4/6 or 100 cents,	Hyson, 6/ or 133⅓ cents.

The same circumstances, which facilitate and insure the attainment of the requisite quantity of teas, not only by means other than British, but indeed by *American* means, certify to us the acquisition of the necessary supplies of porcelain, nankeens, silks, and all other China commodities: and upon the whole, we dare venture to appeal to the books of the inspector general of the British commerce, when we affirm that Great-Britain does not supply us with a fortieth shilling of the various kinds of China merchandise, consumed in America, though they probably fall little short of a sixth of our importations.

SALT FROM EUROPE.

This article, the writer of the observations says, will be taken indiscriminately from Europe: thereby misleading the government and people of England into a belief, that they will have a chance of supplying a considerable proportion. The quantity imported into the united states, from various countries, in the last year, was 2,337,920 bushels; besides which it was manufactured in interior situations. The price of salt in Kentucky, where it is home made, is about one-third of the market rate at Pittsburgh, where foreign salt is used.

The British salt is what is called *fine* in America, from the small size of the crystals. Of this kind the price is greater than that of the coarse, and not a twentieth bushel was imported before the present year, it being little used but at the table, and inconvenient to transport to the interior country; but the new duty, near the eighth of a Mexican dollar, will render its importation very unpro-

ſtable in future. A buſhel of rock or allum ſalt, as it is termed, from the ſize of the cryſtals, will go as far in uſe, as a buſhel and an half, or two buſhels of the finer kind; and the duty is equal. The price, as before obſerved, is leſs. Beſides, our grain and lumber ſhips to Portugal, our tobacco ſhips to France, our corn, flour and lumber ſhips to Spain, our veſſels to the Cape-de-Verd and Weſt-India iſlands, are accommodated by ballaſts of ſalt, which is cheap and abundant in thoſe places. It never fails to yield ſome profit to the owner of the ſhip, (though it will very ſeldom pay a freight) and it is exceedingly beneficial to the timbers of a veſſel. The liberation of this article in France will occaſion it to be better made there in future, and the French will conſequently ſupply us with larger parcels than heretofore. The approximation of our ſettlements to the ſalt ſprings, and the increaſe of white population on the ſouthern ſea coaſts, will occaſion great additions to the quantity made at home. Should any impediment be thrown in the way of the reception of our lumber and other coarſe articles, and of our veſſels in Great-Britain, the importation of ſalt, and indeed of moſt other coarſe Britiſh articles, will be exceedingly diminiſhed, as they are brought now to ballaſt our return veſſels. It appears, on examining better documents than were procurable at the firſt publication of this paper, that our Britiſh lumber trade had induced a greater return in ſalt, than was at that time ſuppoſed; and as truth is the ſole object of this examination, the error is made known without heſitation.

SHOES,

Our writer ſays, were, and muſt continue to be imported in conſiderable quantities, and principally from Britain. 'Tis probable that not leſs than eight millions of pairs of ſhoes, boots, half-boots, guetres, ſlippers, clogs, and goloſhoes, are annually conſumed in or exported from the united ſtates. Our population proves to be near 4,000,000; and if each perſon wears a quantity of the

above ſhoemakers' wares, *equivalent* to two pairs of ſhoes per annum, the number will be made up. If the medium value be taken at 75 cents or 3ſ4½ ſterling per pair, this valuable article will amount to ſix millions of dollars. Of this prodigious quantity, only 70,450 pairs of ſhoes, boots, &c. were imported into the united ſtates in the laſt year. Tanned leather, weighing 22,698 pounds, was exported within the ſame time, and 5,700 pairs of boots and ſhoes. Of *unmanufactured* hides, only 230 were ſhipped abroad. Leather and ſhoes were ſent in ſome degree from the weſtern country. The leather branch is the *ſecond* in England, and it is equal to one-fifth of their ſtaple manufactures. Our ſhoemakers' wares alone appear to be more in value than one fourth of our exports: and as New-England is our greateſt cattle country, and the moſt advanced in handicraft-manufactures, it is plain that its inhabitants muſt be in a conſiderable degree indemnified for the effects of thoſe regulations which operate a diminution of their fiſheries. The coarſer oils, it may be alſo obſerved, are demanded in large quantities by the leather dreſſers, whoſe requiſitions of them will increaſe with our population, and exports of leathern manufactures.

PAPER.

This article, it is alleged by our author, will continue to be ſent in conſiderable quantities from England; and that although ſome coarſe paper for newſpapers is made in America, it is not equal to the demand. From a return made to the manufacturing ſociety of Philadelphia, it appears, that there are forty-eight paper mills in Pennſylvania alone. Five more are building in one county of that ſtate. Others are known to exiſt in Delaware, Maryland, New Jerſey, New York and New England. The united ſtates, till very lately, were inſenſible of the facility with which this branch can be carried on, of the profit which reſults from it, and of the great degree in which it is eſtabliſhed. The treaſury of the

united ſtates, and the ſeveral banks, have paper of the moſt perfect kind, ſpecially made for them; the printing of books has increaſed in an aſtoniſhing degree: and factories of paper hangings are carried on with great ſpirit in Boſton, New-Jerſey, and Philadelphia. In ſhort, there are abundant proofs of eſtabliſhment and progreſs towards perfection, in this valuable branch, in which every thing is made, as it were, *out of nothing*.

R U M.

It is the opinion of lord Sheffield, that the whole of *the Weſt-India rum* uſed in America, except a ſmall quantity from Demarara, and ſome from St. Croix, may be ſupplied by the Britiſh iſlands. The following ſcale may be relied on, as the preſent ſtate of this buſineſs in the united ſtates. If the whole quantity of melaſſes, of diſtilled ſpirits imported, and of diſtilled ſpirits made at home, of fruit and grain, ſhould be divided into 132 parts, it would ſtand thus.

	parts.
Melaſſes imported would be	60
Britiſh, Daniſh, and other rum, taffia, brandy, geneva, arrack, cordials, and other diſtilled ſpirits imported, would be *	37
Spirits diſtilled from the native fruits and grain of the united ſtates would be at leaſt	35
Total	132

It is aſcertained, that the Britiſh ſpirits are not more than 21 parts of the ſecond item of 37; and it appears that *the Weſt-India rum*, ſupplied by all nations, is reduced to about one fourth of our conſumption and ſale to foreign nati-

* There is reaſon to affirm, that the two firſt articles have decreaſed, and that an increaſe in the quantity of the article which follows them, has taken place.

ons of diſtilled ſpirits. How long we ſhall continue to take even that proportion, is very uncertain. Breweries are multiplying: their value is becoming manifeſt. Grain and fruit diſtilleries are riſing up every where. From interior ſituations two gallons of ſpirit, extracted from a buſhel of rye, can be brought to markets where it will realize to the farmer two thirds of a dollar for his grain, at leſs expenſe than if made into flour, and carted to the ſame ſpot. The country is abundantly ſupplied with ſtills: and were the Britiſh iſlands to be refuſed our flour and grain by their own government, as lord Sheffield adviſes, this country would be compelled to indemnify itſelf by making grain ſpirits and malt liquors in lieu of their rum, which it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe we ſhould no longer import; and indeed the exportation of liquors of all kinds, made from grain, will probably become very conſiderable. Some countries refuſe our flour: and the freight to Europe is a heavy charge upon grain. This will induce brewing and diſtillation, even when markets abroad are not bad; but when prices in Europe are very low, we ſhall be more ſtrongly impelled to them. Fruit ſpirits muſt be made continually, and will add much to the aggregate of diſtilled liquors. The grain conſumed in Great-Britain, in their breweries and diſtilleries, is computed to be twenty-four millions of buſhels, though they are obliged to import conſiderable quantities of wheat, oats, flour, *&c.* and though they have rum colonies to ſupport, and to ſupply them with ſpirits. Holland alſo carries on the liquor manufactories to a great extent, though unable to feed itſelf. The ability in the united ſtates to do the ſame, cannot be doubted, and will certainly increaſe. The facilities, which are or may be granted to our ſhips and trade by foreign nations, who make ſpirits from the vine, the cane, or grain, will induce returns in brandy, rum, or gin, which will diminiſh the American demand for Britiſh rum.

The idea that the united ſtates are a country, ſui generis.

This poſition the writer of the obſervations treats as perfectly whimſical—as a figure of rhetoric conveying no diſtinct idea, or an effort of cunning, to unite, at the ſame time, two inconſiſtent characters. Yet it will not be difficult to demonſtrate to an unprejudiced mind, that the circumſtances, in which the people of theſe ſtates were placed, were different from thoſe of any other nation; and that there were ſome peculiarities in them, conſidered with reſpect to Britiſh affairs, which rendered it a ſerious queſtion, whether they did not require a particular arrangement. It is true, that the citizens of the united ſtates had "renounced the duties of Britiſh ſubjects," or, in other words, that they had aſſumed an independent ſtation: but this meaſure was fully juſtified, if we may ſo ſpeak, by Britain's abandoning the ground, which produced the war—*the aſſertion of the right to bind the people of America in all caſes whatſoever*. It will be acknowledged, too, that we manufactured leſs at that time than any other nation in the world; conſequently we were a more profitable commercial connexion. We ſhipt, in proportion to our population, more raw materials, and proviſions, which they want, than any other nation; for it appears we load 650,000 tons of ſhipping, and that their cargoes are almoſt entirely unmanufactured. We were, by much, the firſt cuſtomer for Britiſh manufactures; for it appears by their exports for 1784, that the greateſt value was ſhipped to the united ſtates, being £. 3,648,007, ſterling, including no raw articles; and that the next greateſt foreign ſhipment was to Holland, being only £. 1,277,480, part of which was for German conſumption—and that in the year 1785, alſo, the greateſt value was ſhipped to the united ſtates, being £. 2,308,023 ſterling, and that the next greateſt foreign ſhipment was likewiſe to Holland, amounting to £. 1,605,303, part of which was not manufactures. The exports to Ruſſia in each of thoſe two years was leſs than half the exports to New-York or Pennſylvania. It is to be remembered, too, how great a proportion of the Britiſh export trade theſe

ſhipments to America conſtituted. In 1784, their whole exportations were £. 15,733,847, and in 1785, £. 16,770,228*.

In addition to goods from Britain, we took very large quantities of linen and other dry goods from Ireland, and an enormous value in rum, and other produce of their Weſt-India iſlands; and further we were a nation of planters and farmers, whoſe quantities of unimproved and uncultivated lands were manifold greater than thoſe which were or are yet brought into uſe, and conſequently a great and conſtant demand might be reaſonably expected to exiſt for thoſe ſupplies, which Britain, upon reaſonable terms of intercourſe, would be able to furniſh. Our diſtant ſituation, and the tranſportation of goods, which will lade 650,000 tons of ſhipping, were circumſtances favourable to the carrying trade of our liberal connexions and allies, which no other country preſented to Great-Britain—We have hitherto ſuffered her to participate freely in this, for it appears, that in the laſt year, 230,000 tons of Britiſh veſſels, a fourth of all their private ſhips, were loaded in our ports.

If then the united ſtates actually furniſh the moſt ſolid items of Britiſh foreign commerce—if the raw materials they afford be the eſſential elements of a large proportion of the Britiſh manufactures—if our demands from that nation be not only much the largeſt, but alſo of kinds the moſt profitable to them—if our peculiar ſituation would have drawn us, in a greater degree, than any other country to agriculture, and from manufactures—if our language, our religion, our theories of liberty and law, were the ſame as theirs—the idea of our being a people *peculiarly*

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* Recent and authentic information warrants the aſſertion, that the united ſtates, for ſix years ſubſequent to the treaty of Paris in 1783, imported more goods from Great-Britain than were imported from thence by any other country, by the difference of at leaſt half a million of ſterling money, and probably more, tho' their exports to foreign nations were compoſed in part of our tobacco, rice, indigo, &c.

circumſtanced, ſuch a people as exiſt not elſewhere, cannot, in candour, be treated as fanciful: and, indeed, did not the ſerioufneſs of a ſubject, which involves the intereſts of two nations, ſuppreſs every feeling, which might tend to obſcure them, the indecorum and acrimony, with which this and other pages of "the obſervations" are ſoiled, ought not to paſs without due animadverſion.

The proſecution of this examination will be continued in a ſubſequent paper. In the mean time, what has been already thrown out, may be duly and temperately conſidered. The preſent ſeaſon is intereſting and critical. The policy, which the united ſtates ought to obſerve, in *the legiſlation of commerce*, is likely to be formally diſcuſſed. At ſuch a moment, facts, accurately aſcertained and candidly ſtated, are of the utmoſt importance; for how ſhall we ſo well reaſon, as from what we know? It is to be deſired, that *the light of indiſputable truth* may enable our own legiſlators and thoſe of foreign nations, to diſcover the ground of common intereſt, and that no erroneous maxims, however ſanctioned, may cloſe one avenue of mutually beneficial communication.

SECOND NUMBER.

IT was premiſed, in the firſt number, that no particular attention would be paid to order in this examination. We ſhall therefore proceed to remark upon timber, ſcantling, boards, ſhingles, ſtaves, heading, and hoops, under the general denomination of

LUMBER.

Theſe articles are of the greateſt importance to the Iriſh proviſion trade, to Britiſh commerce and manufactures in general, and particularly to the profitable management of Weſt India eſtates. Lord Sheffield is of opinion, that "moſt of them may be imported from Canada and Nova Scotia, on as good, if not better terms, than from theſe ſtates;" and that "Nova Scotia will, at leaſt for ſome time, have little elſe to depend on, but her fiſheries, proviſions and cutting of lumber." But the experience of 1790, ſeven years after thoſe provinces began to regain order, inſtructs us, that there were ſhipt in that year, from the united ſtates to Nova Scotia alone,

540,000 of ſtaves and heading, 924,980 feet of boards, 285,000 ſhingles, and 16,000 hoops.

The legiſlature of Jamaica (the imports of which iſland directly from the united ſtates, might be eſtimated, in 1784, at half our ſhipments to the Britiſh Weſt Indies) accompanied their addreſs to the Britiſh paliament, with proofs that only 20 bundles of hoops, 301,324 ſhingles and ſtaves, and 510,088 feet of lumber, were imported into that iſland from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, between the 3d of April 1783, and the 26th of October 1784, a term of nearly nineteen months! It appears probable, then, that they did not ſupply their Weſt India brethren with more than one half of what they import, at this mature ſtage of their ſettlements, from us. It is to be remembered, that Jamaica drew no ſupplies of our lumber through the Dutch and Daniſh iſlands; though the Carribee, or more windward iſlands at that time did. From 1768, to 1772, only 36,100 ſhingles and ſtaves, and 27,235 feet of lumber, were ſhipt annually from the northern Britiſh colonies to the iſland of Jamaica.

In another page of the obſervations, we are told, that hoops, ſtaves, and boards may be ſent out to the Weſt Indies from England, "becauſe the freight is lower than from the united ſtates." Here again, the writer of the obſervations is unfortunate in his propoſed means of ſupply: for it appears, that there were ſhipped, in the year above mentioned, to the *European* dominions of Great Britain, 13,306,000 ſtaves and heading, 3,000,000 feet of boards, 4,000,000 feet of timber, 253,000 ſhingles, and 6000 of hoops. We learn, too, from mr. Anderſon's hiſtory of commerce, that there were imported from England to the Weſt Indies, in 1787, the value of £80. 12*s*. 5*d*. ſterling and no more, in boards, ſtaves and other lumber, towards the ſupply of the demand of thoſe iſlands, which lord Sheffield admits to have been, in 1770, about thirty five millions of boards, ſcantling, ſtaves and hoops, and fifteen millions and a half of ſhingles. It will appear to him an extraordinary fact, (and muſt excite a ſmile in the graveſt countenance,)

that the balance of the lumber account between Great Britain and her Weſt India colonies, is actually againſt the former: for we learn, from another of mr. Anderſon's documents, that there were ſhipt thither from thoſe colonies, between Michaelmas 1786, and the ſame day in 1787, £.3070 13*s.* 11*d.* ſterling, in boards, ſtaves and timber. But if the project of ſhipping from Europe were as rational as it is wild, what would become of of the low freights, upon which it is in part founded? The lumber actually taken by the Britiſh Weſt Indies from the united ſtates, "exhauſted," as this writer miſrepreſents them to be, would load all the veſſels that depart from Great Britain to the Weſt Indies; for it would fill above 100,000 tons of ſhipping; and a large quantity of tonnage would ſtill be required for the coal, malt-liquors, wines, loaf ſugar, candles, ſoap, proviſions, cordage, bale goods, nails, tallow, lime, carriages, *&c.* which are conſtantly ſhipped thither from Europe.

The prices of lumber, in London and the united ſtates, have been gravely compared; and December 1783, was taken as the common ſeaſon. It is unneceſſary to loſe time in diſproving an allegation about a period ſo long paſſed, which, however, could be ſatisfactorily done, or to animadvert upon the ſuppreſſion of the price of boards in which we had ſo much more the advantage. Our public returns from the ſeveral ports, which cannot be ſuppoſed to undervalue the article, nor indeed do they vary materially from the ſhipping prices, give the medium rate of 12⅔ dollars or £.2 17*s.* ſterling for red oak and white oak ſtaves, and heading, fit for barrels, hogſheads, and pipes. The prices of ſtaves vary exceedingly in the different markets of the united ſtates; and that, which was ſelected by the writer of the obſervations, is known not to be among the cheapeſt. Even there the article is at this time thirty per cent. below the quotation in the obſervations. But we have already noticed the very large exportation of lumber from the united ſtates to the Britiſh European dominions, which alone is a ſufficient contradiction of the fact, and is a ſatisfactory correction of the obſervations.

The following ſtatement of the prices in St. Domingo and Jamaica will not be deemed unintereſting, as tending to ſhew the rates at which French and American veſſels ſupply the former, and Britiſh veſſels ſupply the latter, although the home dominions of France were incapacitated from furniſhing their uſual quantity of proviſions.

At Kingſton in Jamaica, 1790.

	June. dolls.		Oct. dolls.	Nov. dolls.	
Super. flour, p. lb.	10.20	to 10. 50	7.50	7.50	to 8.25
Common do. do.	9.37½		6.75	7.12	to 7.50
Ship bread, do.	5.25		4.50		4.87
Indian meal, do.	5.25		4.50		5.25
Rice, per 100 lbs.	3.37½		4. 2½	4.50	to 5.25
Pork, do.			14.		12.
Hams, per lb.	.12½		.16¼		.15
Butter do.			.15		15
Pine boards,	24.		27.	30.	
R. O. hhd. ſtaves,	24.		31.	27.	
Wooden hoops,	30.		36.	30.	

At Cape Francois*, 1790.

	July. dolls.	Oct. dolls.	Nov. dolls.	
Superfine flour, per bbl.	10.	6.50	6	to 6.50
Common do. do.	9.	5.	5	to 5.45
Ship bread,	3.52			
Indian meal, do.	3.64	2.50		
Rice, per 108 lb.	3.50	2.91		
Beef, do.	6.6	7.	7.	to 8.
Hams, per lb.	.9	.9		.9
Butter, do.		.9		.12
Pine boards,	15.76	12.12		10.91
R. O. hhd. ſtaves†,	14.	16.		12.

N. B. Wooden hoops vary in Cape-Francois from 14 to 28 dollars.

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* The duties, from one to 12½ per cent. are included.

† The French Weſt-Indians uſe very few white oak hhd. ſtaves, making little rum, or taffia, and having a ſufficiency of old caſks, in which brandy has been imported.

It is not eaſy to aſcertain the preciſe degree in which the Britiſh iſlands are ſupplied with lumber from their own dominions. But much light is thrown upon the enquiry, by the information of the Jamaica legiſlature: and it appears, that the Britiſh European ports furniſh none. Their northern colonies are proved to import from us now, more than they exported in 1784: and as our return of exports of lumber to the Weſt-India iſlands, for the laſt year, exceeds the quantity ſhipt thither before the revolution, the ſupplies from Canada and Nova-Scotia, even now, muſt neceſſarily be very inconſiderable*.

The ſtate of Georgia, which is penetrated by large rivers, would probably furniſh more lumber and timber than the Britiſh dominions will require in the next twenty years. It can be cut at all ſeaſons, from the nature of the climate, and her ports, which are moſt conveniently ſituated, to ſupply the Weſt-Indies (though lord Sheffield ſays, thoſe of Canada are more ſo!) are open in the middle of winter. The improvement of the inland navigation of

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* After the firſt publication of this examination a proclamation of the governor of Nova Scotia was received in the united ſtates, permitting the importation of every ſpecies of lumber, from hence into that province, for ſix months of 1791, during all which the St. Lawrence is free from ice. As they would have preferred to draw their ſupplies during the term of the licence, from Canada, if that country could have furniſhed them—and as lumber does not depend on ſeaſons, and is not, like crops of grain, liable to ſudden failures, an irrefragable proof is afforded, that Canada cannot ſupply the demand of *Nova Scotia*, much leſs of the Weſt-Indies, and that Nova-Scotia wants population, or timber, or both, to enable her to furniſh lumber enough *for her own demand*. It ſeems highly probable, *that without our lumber, the Weſt-India trade of the northern Britiſh colonies would ſuffer deeply*, they having neither grain, flour, biſcuit, nor lumber, to fill up the veſſels, which take out their parcels of fiſh; and, it is alſo probable, that a prohibition on our part, were we inclined to it, would affect their fiſheries, by enhancing the price of caſks for its package. The coſt of caſks in Nova Scotia, at this time, is a heavier charge on their fiſh, than our impoſt, as it now ſtands.

South-Carolina will bring into the abundant lumber-market of Charleſton, a new and large ſupply. North-Carolina has very great magazines of timber, and the opening of the Paſquotank canal will give it to all the ports of the Cheſapeak. The middle and eaſtern ſtates are more exhauſted; but large quantities will long be exported from the Delaware, much larger from the Hudſon, and ſtill greater from the province of Maine.

NOVA SCOTIA AND CANADA.

Great reliance is placed by this and other Engliſh writers on the ſupplies, which may be derived by the Weſt-India iſlands from the northern Britiſh colonies. It has been already ſhown, that they hitherto afford little or no lumber. Of rice and naval ſtores they cannot furniſh any, producing none. Of flour, Canada can yet have ſupplied but a ſmall proportion, having few mills, having to ſupport cattle through long winters, and her climate preventing ſhipments during half the year*. The voyage is a very heavy one, being long and on a ſingle freight. Nova Scotia can never ſupply much of this article, and has taken from the united ſtates above 40,000 barrels of meal and bread, within the laſt year, beſides 80,000 buſhels of grain. Canada is too remote to ſend ſupplies of cattle, hogs, ſheep, and horſes; and our exports of theſe animals to Nova Scotia, prove they have not yet any to ſpare. Of horned cattle 899, of horſes 12, of ſheep 2,244, of hogs 267, and of poultry 2376, were ſhipped from the united ſtates to the northern Britiſh colonies, in a little more than one year, from the autumn of 1789 to that of 1790. Very little beef, pork, hams, tongues, tallow, lard, butter, cheeſe, candles, or ſoap, can be ſpared to the Weſt-Indies, by countries which import black cattle, hogs, ſheep, and poultry.

The documents adduced by the Jamaica legiſlature

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* Canadian flour will always be ſubject to ſpoiling, as it muſt be made in ſummer.

went further to ſhow, that between the 3d of April, 1783, and the 26th of October, 1784, they had received, in that populous and extenſive iſland, from Canada, St. John's*, and Nova Scotia, no flour—no Indian corn, beans, or oats—no ſhip bread or other biſcuit—no Indian or other meal—no horſes, cattle, ſheep, hogs, or poultry—10 barrels of rice—180 buſhels of potatoes—751 hogſheads, 37 tierces, 39 half tierces, and 457 barrels of fiſh, 45 barrels of oil, 100 oars, 710 ſhaken caſks (or puncheon packs) 21 maſts and ſpars, with the ſmall parcels of lumber mentioned under that head, and no other goods. They alſo ſhow, that all the imports of Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia and, and St. John's, were, on an average of the five years, from 1768 to 1772, but 33 barrels of flour, 7 hogſheads of fiſh, 8 barrels of oil, 3 barrels of tar, pitch and turpentine, 36 thouſand of ſhingles and ſtaves, and 27,235 feet of lumber.

How far it has been in the power of the northern Britiſh colonies, or of the Britiſh European dominions, to furniſh their Weſt-India iſlands with flour, bread, and Indian corn, will further appear from the following facts. It is ſtated by lord Sheffield, that there were imported from hence into thoſe iſlands, in a year of great plenty and trade, before the revolution, 132,426 barrels of flour and biſcuit; but our returns for 13½ months, already mentioned, ſhow that their late demand from us in that term was 139,286 barrels of flour alone, and 77,982 barrels of Indian meal, middlings, ſhip-ſtuff, rye meal, and biſcuit. Their former annual ſupply of Indian corn, received from hence, was 401,471 buſhels; and their recent importations prove to have been 516,794 buſhels, in the ſpace of time ſtated in our late return.

It is unneceſſary to dwell longer upon the ſupplies which the remaining Britiſh American colonies were expected to afford to their Weſt-India plantations. An experiment of years has been fairly made—The returns from their cuſtom houſes, and from thoſe of the iſlands, will inform the government of Great-Britain what they really furniſh at this time, and the proportion it bears to the whole de-

* Meaning New-Brunſwic.

mand. This head will therefore be paſſed over with the reiteration of a few remarks—that the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands are proved to have been indebted to the united ſtates, in 1790, for more lumber, more grain, and more bread and flour, than they imported from theſe ſtates before the revolution—that their remaining colonies can therefore have furniſhed them, in their preſent mature ſtate, but in very ſmall quantities—that thoſe colonies have required of us near half the amount in cattle, hogs, and ſheep, which the Weſt-India iſlands formerly took off—and that the high prices of wet and ſmoked proviſions in the Britiſh Weſt-Indies, which are greater than thoſe in the French iſlands, where thoſe articles are prohibited or heavily dutied, fully prove, that they depend for them on Ireland alone, and receive no ſenſible relief from the Britiſh American colonies. Their inability to furniſh ſupplies of proviſions to the Weſt-India iſlands is fairly to be preſumed from the proclamation of the governor of Nova-Scotia, already mentioned, which, beſides the article of lumber, permits the importation from the united ſtates, of grain, flour, biſcuit, cattle, ſheep, poultry, &c. through the whole ſeaſon of 1791, when the St. Lawrence and bay of Fundy are certainly navigable, and the province of Canada is exporting its ſurplus produce.

LINSEED OIL.

This article is ſaid, in the obſervations, to be made in ſome parts of America, from the refuſe of the flaxſeed, and that the quantity is trifling, compared with the conſumption. It is added, that conſiderable quantities went from Britain to America, before the war; and the Engliſh nation are left to believe, that this will continue to be the caſe, though they actually import ſeed from hence to make oil.

The growth of flax is exceedingly increaſed in this country, and particularly in interior ſituations. Oil mills having become more numerous, the ſeed in thoſe inland places is manufactured into oil. This will bear an expenſe of tranſportation, which ſo bulky an article as the ſeed

cannot ſuſtain. Hence the preſent price of linſeed oil, after it is brought down to the Philadelphia market, is about 2/1 ſterling, while the price in London is from 2/3 to 2/4. The Iriſh demand for our ſeed is about 42,000 hhds.: after deducting that, the remainder muſt be made into oil here, or ſhipped to Europe for that purpoſe. This manufactory being effected by water mills, there can be no doubt, that the former diſpoſition of the ſurplus ſeed will be made.

PAINTERS' COLOURS.

Several of the ochres are found in abundance in Virginia, Connecticut, and other parts of the united ſtates. The interior ſituation of the Virginia lead mine, which now yields very copiouſly, will ſoon occcaſion the manufacture of white lead, and of all the preparations of lead, from the ſame cauſe that has been mentioned in the caſe of linſeed oil, and rye ſpirits—economizing in the tranſportation. The patent colours have been imitated with great ſucceſs. The trade with Holland and the German towns, as alſo with the Mediterranean and the Eaſt Indies, gives us many colours that were formerly imported from Britain, like apothecaries' articles, at immenſe advances.

COACHES AND OTHER CARRIAGES.

The importation of theſe was formerly very great. Virginia, in 1788, had 360 coaches and chariots, 365 phaetons and other pleaſurable four-wheeled carriages, and 1,967 one-horſe chairs and ſolas. New Jerſey, in 1789, had 38 coaches, chariots, and phaetons, 1,549 one horſe chairs and ſolas, and a very great number of plain decent light-waggons, on ſteel or wooden ſprings. From theſe facts, and ſimilar ones in the other parts of the union, it is certain that the pleaſurable carriages of the united ſtates would amount to a very large ſum. Though to be obtained on credit from England, no more than £.5,000 ſterling in carriages, or parts of car-

riages, were imported in the year following Auguſt 1789, including thoſe of numerous travellers and emigrators: and 220 carriages were exported to foreign countries, within the ſame year. All the wood and iron work, the harneſs and other leathern materials, frequently the braſs work, fringe, lace, and lately the plated work, are made in America. Lord Sheffield ſeems to have expected a conſiderable importation of theſe articles: but he did not advert to the poſſibility, that the manufacturers themſelves would emigrate to us; which is every day taking place.

"MEDICINES AND DRUGS

"Will be imported from Great Britain," ſays the writer of the obſervations, "on account of the knowledge, which the phyſicians, ſurgeons and apothecaries, in the American ſtates, have of the method of preparing and procuring them there." Men of the requiſite ſkill from other countries are to be found in moſt of our principal ſeaports. To theſe many of the chemical and Galenic operations of Holland, France, and Germany are not unknown. Saltpetre, muſk, camphor, rhubarb, and other Eaſt India articles in this line, have been ſhipt occaſionally from the united ſtates, in conſiderable parcels. Bark, ſulphur, balſam capivi, and many other medicinal productions, have been obtained from Spain, the Mediterranean, the Weſt Indies, and other places. Holland participates largely in our importations of chymical preparations; but many, which uſed to be imported, are begun to be manufactured here: and exportations of them to advantage, have, in ſome inſtances taken place. The knowledge which our medical gentlemen have acquired abroad, and in their profeſſional reading at home, of the methods of procuring drugs, has been communicated to our merchants: and their information of the methods of preparing chymical articles, has been often put in practice here. There is, no doubt, a conſiderable trade in theſe commodites from Great Britain. But it is, even now, affected by the above circumſtances, and is not by

any means a monopoly. From our free and enterprising commerce, the natural productions of the country, and chymical skill, it must decrease every year. Great Britain possesses, from nature, less of these commodities than the united states. Foreign trade, and skill employed at home, will give us a great share of those, which are not spontaneous productions of our various soil and climate.

Nails, spikes, and other manufactures of iron, and those of steel,

Are placed second on the list of articles, in which it is alleged Great Britain will sustain little competition: and lord Sheffield remarks, that "whatever we make of them, is at the expense of at least three times the amount of what the same articles could be imported for from Europe." The iron branch is highly important and growing in the united states. In Massachusetts, there were seventy-six iron works, many of them small, in 1784. The Virginia works make above 5,300 tons of iron. The slitting and rolling mills of Pennsylvania, are ascertained to cut and roll 1500 tons or 3,360,000lbs. per annum: and so completely do they obviate the objection of manual labour, which is constantly urged against American manufactures, that they employ but twenty-five hands. In that state, there are also sixteen furnaces and thirty seven large forges: in New Jersey alone, in the year 1789, the number of forges were seventy-nine and of furnaces eight. And though the details are not so well known, they are very numerous in Maryland and most of the states. These works are annually increasing, and particularly in interior situations. The nails and spikes consumed yearly in the united states, (calculating on 4,000,000 people, at ten to a house, including negroes, which gives 400,000 houses) allowing ten pounds for the average use of all the persons living in each house, in building, repairing, fencing, and in their business, and manufacturing, would be 4,000,000lbs. Of this quantity there were imported in the returned year, 1,800,000

lbs: and about 2,200,000 pounds muſt, therefore, have been made at home. The remainder of the ſlit and rolled iron is either exported or made into tire, hoops, ſprings for carriages, or ſome ſubſtitute for foreign importations. Ship-building alſo demands very large quantities of iron work. Plough-ſhares, carriages, axes, ſaws, hoes, ſpades, ſhovels, and kitchen utenſils, and many other articles employ the American workers in this raw material. About one half of the ſteel, conſumed in the united ſtates, is home made, and new furnaces are building at this moment. The works being few, and the importation aſcertained, this fact is known to be accurate. Bar iron before the revolution, was uſually ſold for ſixty four dollars. It fell, after the war, to the ſame price; and large quantities of iron in bars and pigs were exported. The progreſs of manufactures has raiſed theſe articles to the higheſt prices ever known in peace; and only 200 tons in bars, and 3555 tons in pigs were exported in thirteen months and a half of 1789, and 1790. The exportation of this quantity was principally to throw the requiſite weight into the bottoms of ſhips laden with cargoes of tobacco or lumber. Lord Sheffield ſtates, that we ſhipped 2592 tons of bar iron, and 4624 tons of pig metal per annum, in ſeveral years before the revolution, when it is known our commerce and population were not at the higheſt. It is alſo to be obſerved, that we now import conſiderable quantities of bar iron from the Baltic and its vicinity, particularly into the eaſtern ſtates. One thouſand two hundred and eighty-eight tons of bar iron, were imported from St Peterſburg alone, in the year 1790, and above forty tons of iron hoops and nail rods. From theſe facts may be collected convincing proofs of the ſtate of the iron manufactures of this country, ſtrongly oppoſed to the preſumptions of lord Sheffield, as well with reſpect to the dearneſs of thoſe manufactures, as the monopoly of our ſupplies.

FLOUR AND WHEAT.

Theſe ineſtimable commodities are not, in the opinion of lord Sheffield, the beſt ſtaples for the united ſtates to depend on; becauſe, as he obſerves, in general the demand in Europe is uncertain. He again repeats his unfounded notion of a competition between us and Nova Scotia for the ſupply of Europe, in theſe articles; and adds, that it is a fortunate conſequence of American independence, that the Britiſh European iſlands may regain the ſupply of their Weſt Indies, with bread and flour, and that they can furniſh them cheaper than we. In regard to the proſpects from Nova Scotia, enough has been already ſaid, and particularly till they diſcover ſymptoms of internal reſources for their own uſe, by ceaſing to import grain and flour from the united ſtates. As to the European corn trade, authentic and important information, indeed, is to be derived from a report of the Britiſh privy council, of March, 1790, which is ſaid to have been drawn by lord Hawkſbury. It is wiſely obſerved, in that report, that the culture of grain is the moſt important object that can receive the public attention: and it is ſtated that the demand of Great Britain, for flour and grain, has produced an average balance againſt the nation, of £291,000 ſterling, for the laſt nineteen years, although from the year 1746, to the year 1765, they had annually gained, by their corn trade, £651,000 ſterling on a medium. Ireland, it is true, has greatly increaſed its exports of grain, flour, and biſcuit, but by no means in proportion to this falling off by Great Britain, and its whole exports of flour and grain are much leſs than our ſhipments to the Britiſh Weſt Indies. Their lordſhips proceed to ſtate, that in conſequence of information received by them from the principal corn countries of Europe, they are of opinion, that the quantity of grain raiſed in Europe, in common years, is not more than equal to the ordinary conſumption of its inhabitants; and that, in the event of a failure of their crops, *a ſupply can only be expected from America*. In verification of this formal official communi-

cation, on a ſubject of ſuch high importance, we find, that the influence of the late ſcarcity in France, not only pervaded all Europe, but was extended to the moſt interior counties of theſe ſtates. Wheat was ſold on that occaſion three hundred miles from the ocean, for prices that have been uſually acceptable in our ſea port towns: and at the places of ſhipment, it was advanced to rates beyond what had ever occurred ſince the ſettlement of the country.

When we remember, that by grain liquors we may avoid the purchaſe of eleven millions and a half of gallons of the ſpirits, or ingredients for ſpirits of foreign nations; that by grain theſe ſtates are rendered the alternate ground of dependence of every European nation, in time of need; that we are protected from the poſſibility of dreadful famine by this bleſſed production; that grain is the raw material in which ſome conſiderable manufacturers work, and which all muſt neceſſarily conſume; we muſt ſmile at the ideas which lord Sheffield has hazarded, in regard to thoſe precious ſtaples, wheat and flour.

GUNPOWDER,

It is aſſerted, will be imported cheaper than it can be manufactured in America. The price of this article has been reduced in the Philadelphia market, to ſixteen dollars, or £.3 12ſ. ſterling per 100 wt. by the free importation of brimſtone and ſaltpetre from India and other countries. Our merchants uſually pay for it in England at the rate of 75 to 76 ſhillings ſterling, after deducting the drawback on exportation. Twenty-one powder mills have been erected in Pennſylvania alone, ſince the year 1768 or 1770—much the greater part of them ſince the commencement of the revolution war: four new ones are now building in that ſtate, one at Baltimore, and others in different parts of the united ſtates; and it is certain they will be multiplied in proportion to the demand, whether it be for home conſumption or exportation. Of the quantity commonly in

hand in the Philadelphia magazine, not more than ſeven per cent. is of foreign manufacture. Saltpetre and ſulphur are found in conſiderable quantities, particularly in the interior parts of Virginia: but at preſent the commercial ſupplies are ſo plentiful and cheap, that our internal reſources are little uſed. Saltpetre is cheaper in Philadelphia than in London.

The ability of Great Britain to make her ſhips the carriers for the united ſtates.

It is explicitly declared, in the 39th page of lord Sheffield's introduction, that the adoption of the ground propoſed by him, will inſure to Britiſh ſhips the carrying trade of the united ſtates; "for (he adds) it is certain, if our navigation laws be maintained, it will not anſwer the Americans to keep many ſhips." This, it will be admitted, is, to us, if true, a very intereſting poſition, and demands our moſt ſerious attention. It will, however, be very eaſy to ſhow, that the private ſhipping of the united ſtates does not depend upon Britiſh laws. The tables, that accompany the report on the American fiſheries, from the department of ſtate, clearly prove, that we are not dependent on Great Britain for that branch of commerce. In the regulation of our coaſting trade, which employs above 100,000 tons of ſhipping, and which will increaſe with our population, manufactures, and uſe of coal, Britiſh laws can have no operation. In our commerce with the Baltic, and the North, with the Netherlands, the Hanſe towns, France, Spain, Portugal, the ſtreights, moſt parts of Africa and India, and the colonies of the European nations, except the Britiſh, their navigation act cannot affect us. It appears moreover, that our ſhips are ſo "many," as to have amounted to 360,000 tons of veſſels laden in our ports, by a return which is incomplete, while thoſe of Great Britain and her dominions were 225,000 tons. But it is poſſible, that conſiderable deductions from the Britiſh tonnage may happen. There is little doubt, that the diminutions of our importations from their dominions, which have ta-

ken place, in regard to China merchandiſe, and other India goods, Ruſſian, Dutch, and German goods, paper, nails, ſheet iron, ſteel, ſhoes and boots, gunpowder, lead, coal, ſalt, malt liquors, loaf and brown ſugars, coffee, cocoa and ſpiritous liquors, by reaſon of our intercourſe with other nations, and the improvement of our own reſources and manufactures, will be followed by further commercial acquiſitions from liberal nations, by the conſtant introduction of new foreign manufactures, and the diſcovery and attainment of new internal reſources. If, for example, cotton be raiſed and imported, and ſpinning mills be erected, Mancheſter importations will decreaſe: if flax and hemp be raiſed and imported, in greater quantities, and flax and hemp ſpinning mills be erected, ſail-cloth, ſheeting, and ſhirting linens, checks, oznabrigs, table and towel linen, *&c.* will be imported more ſparingly. If by theſe and other means, our imports from Great Britain ſhould be finally reduced to ſuch a ſum, as will purchaſe only ſo much rice, tobacco, and other articles as its people conſume, thoſe articles will not be ſhipped indirectly to foreign countries, through Britiſh ports, as is now the caſe. Theſe indirect ſhipments give Britiſh veſſels more than an equal chance in the competition with ours from America to England; becauſe the property is generally on Engliſh account, and it gives them ſo far the command of the carriage from England to other parts of Europe. From theſe circumſtances, it will be perceived, that it is intereſting to our private ſhipping, and conſequently to our ſucceſs in the eſtabliſhment of a navy, that we continue, by prudent and ſalutary means, to decreaſe our importations from each foreign country, ſo as in a greater degree to equalize them with the conſumption, which that country actually makes of our productions: this, however, it is conceived, ought not to be attempted, by any precipitate or coercive means; but by the eſtabliſhment of our mercantile credit in other countries, by commercial enterpriſe, capital and manufacturing induſtry.

A ſecond cauſe, which renders the intercourſe in the ſhape of exportations to Great Britain inordinately great, is to be

found in the old private debts due to that country from this. These, ſo far as they will be paid by money or goods, are conſiderably diminiſhed. The riſe of our ſtocks, and the ſales of them to foreigners, have enabled many to leſſen thoſe debts: and Britiſh ſubjects will continue to find it their intereſt to buy into them. Theſe are payments, which occaſion only a remittance of the intereſt: and the commutation of private for public debts is therefore to be deſired. Part of the old debts which remain due to the Engliſh merchants, muſt be received in the ſoil and buildings of this country. When theſe ſhall be accepted by the creditor, they will remain immoveable: and he will find himſelf, or his child, transformed into an American freeholder, to his profit and that of the united ſtates, though to the injury, and ſometimes the ruin of the unfortunate debtor. This change of the creditor's ſituation, will not be unpleaſing to a liberal mind of any country, and, if properly underſtood, may meliorate the proſpects of the families and connexions of many who are concerned in American debts. A country, of great native ſtrength, becoming energetic, intelligent, free, not diſpoſed to provoke either inſults or injuries, and in a ſituation not to ſubmit to a wanton impoſition of either, holds out as great promiſes of human happineſs, as any, of which the foreign creditor can have been a citizen. He is ſure of a kind reception, and of the protection of the laws and conſtitution.

A third cauſe, which has produced an extraordinary intercourſe in the ſhape of importations from Great-Britain, has been the want of credit from other nations. We now annually import from Great Britain about 900,000 dollars, in articles not of her growth, produce, or manufacture; and though we have reduced this from about 2,200,000 dollars ſince the ſeparation of the two countries, there is yet that great value expenſively, becauſe circuitouſly, imported. The purſuit of the accuſtomed track, eſtabliſhed in the time of the old Britiſh monopoly, has been one cauſe of theſe unnatural importations—but the chief cauſe was *the credit* we found from England. The Britiſh merchants will probably continue to afford the greateſt accommoda-

tions of this kind; but it is evident, that the citizens of other countries will furniſh us with credits, and ſometimes in more eligible ſhapes. They will give us their caſh articles and their coin, to be employed in ready-money trades at home and abroad, in manufactures and foreign commerce. In proof of this may be adduced the reſpondentia credits in India and China, the purchaſes into our public funds and ſeveral bank ſtocks, the inveſtment of monies in our lands, and in our navigation, trade, and manufactures. The medium imports from Great-Britain for ſeveral years before the revolution, appear, from European accounts, to be to the medium imports for an equal term of years antecedent to 1790, as 27 to 23, though our population has probably almoſt doubled; and though much larger importations than heretofore, by perſons intending to remain here, have alſo contributed to ſwell the quantity in the latter term. What is to follow in this way, time, it is believed, will very quickly ſhow.

In addition to the foregoing cauſes, which ſeem likely to occaſion a diminution of the proportion of ſhipping employed directly and indirectly by Great-Britain in the American trade (including the exportation of our productions from the Britiſh ports to other markets in Europe) one other, which does not ſeem to have ſufficiently engaged their attention, may produce, it is believed, conſiderable effects. The regulations of the Britiſh navigation act do not appear to have been duly examined by other powers, with a view to the adoption of ſuch of them as will apply beneficially to their own affairs. If they have had effects ſo favourable to the ſhipping and naval power of Britain, it is poſſible they might be, in a greater or leſs degree, beneficial to other countries. The preſent appears a fit ſeaſon for ſuch an examination: and we cannot ſuffer, if we enter on it with temper and diſcretion. That it would diminiſh the number of Britiſh veſſels, for example, if the united ſtates and all other maritime countries, ſhould deem it expedient to enact into a law of their reſpective nations, the clauſe of the Britiſh ſtatute, by which the importation of all foreign goods is confined to native bottoms and to thoſe of the nation producing the

articles, cannot be doubted. Whether this regulation will be convenient to the united ſtates—to France---to Spain---to Portugal---to Ruſſia---to Pruſſia---who, exporting twenty or thirty times the bulk of goods, that Great-Britain ſhips, do not enjoy a part of the carriage for foreign nations, equal to what ſhe poſſeſſes, is a queſtion thoſe nations are ſeverally to conſider and determine. Facts, in the mean time, are intereſting. In the year 1772, as mr. Anderſon informs, the imports and exports of the Baltic were made in 6680 veſſels, of which the Britiſh were 1894, the French, Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and Ruſſian only 45. The commodities carried thither (in addition to their own manufactures) were the produce and fabrics of all the countries of Europe and of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, which, by their navigation act, could not have been imported into Great-Britain in like manner. The ſame may be ſaid of the cargoes they brought away, ſo far as they were carried directly to the ports of other nations, or were reſhipt from their own ports in their original form. The ſame writer ſtates the Britiſh entries in Liſbon, in the year 1788, to have been 351, and thoſe of Portugal, in her own metropolis and emporium, to have been only 283. The Spaniards had but 31, the Ruſſians one, the Pruſſians one, and Dantzickers one. By the ſame authority we are inſtructed, that the Britiſh entries in Malaga in 1787, were 189, the Dutch 24, the Portugueſe five, the Ruſſians, Pruſſians, and Dantzickers, none. In the year 1778, the Britiſh entries in Cronſtadt, the port of the city of St. Peterſburg, were 252; thoſe of Ruſſia, though in her owncapital, were only twelve, of Spain ſix, of Portugal two, of Hamburg and Bremen five. In the year 1790, the Britiſh entries, in the ſame port, were 517 out of 932: and we have recently ſeen, that the Britiſh have ſupplied themſelves and the other nations of Europe, with cargoes of our commodities amounting to 230,000 tons, while thoſe Europeans carried for themſelves no more than one ſixth of the quantity. It is not intended to diſcuſs, in this place, the policy of adopting ſo momentous a regulation as that alluded to, obſervations on which are rendered peculiarly delicate by

the ſituation in which it is placed by the national legiſlature. The inſtance, it is conceived, however, will forcibly inculcate the utility of the examination ſuggeſted in the beginning of this paragraph, and will lead to uſeful reflexions on the conſequences, which ſuch an examination may induce. The facts, by which it is illuſtrated, appeared too ſerious and important to Americans and to foreigners, not to be adduced. It will be perceived, that it is equally the intereſt of thoſe who are Engliſhmen, to conſider the effects of ſuch an examination of the Britiſh trade laws, and of thoſe who are not. Some of the convictions, which ſuch an enquiry, made with judgment, would create in the minds of candid men, would probably be, that Great-Britain cannot make her ſhips the carriers for the united ſtates; and that rather than make the attempt, it would be better far to commence the formation of liberal arrangements, ſolidly founded in the mutual intereſts of the two nations.

THIRD NUMBER.

IN the proſecution of this examination, our attention is drawn to the article of

FINE AND COARSE HATS.

The writer of the obſervations remarks, that the high price of wool and labour muſt induce the Americans to import the felt and common hats. The increaſe of our population, as in other new countries, has been accompanied by an increaſe of the quantity of wool. Sheep have been found, on frequent and fair experiments, to be very profitable to the farmer. Importation, though hitherto caſual, has ſupplied us with ſome wool. Hatters are found in every part of the united ſtates. The following table, which was contained in a report made by a committee to the manufacturing ſociety of Philadelphia, will ſhow the ſtate of the hatting buſineſs in Pennſylvania, and diſcovers a fact little known to her own citizens, that 12,340 hats are annually made in the four counties beyond the Allegany mountains*.

	Hatters.	Fur hats.	Wool hats.
In the city and county of Philadelphia,	68	31,637	7,600
Montgomery,	10	800	1,000
Delaware,	14	1,500	4,000
Weſt-Cheſter,	14	1,300	4,000
Lancaſter,	16	3,000	15,000
Dauphin,	10	1,200	4,000
Bucks,	12	1,000	1,000
Berks,	38	2,200	54,000
York,	26	2,600	30,000
Cumberland,	16	1,300	9,000
Northumberland,	10	700	5,000
Northampton,	12	1,000	7,000
Bedford,	8	800	2,000
Franklin,	10	800	2,000
Luzerne,	6	400	1,400
Huntington,	6	1,400	2,000
Mifflin,	6	400	2,000
Weſtmoreland*,	10	600	3,000
Fayette*,	7	400	1,540
Allegany*,	6	400	1,600
Waſhington*,	10	800	4,000
	315	54,237	161,140

From this return, it appears that every county in the ſtate participates in the hatting buſineſs, there being none but what are in the above liſt†.

The united ſtates are found to contain near 4,000,000 inhabitants, and of that number the whites are conjectured to be about 3,300,000. If a hat per annum, be allowed for every third perſon of this laſt number, 1,100,000 hats per annum, would be a ſupply for the united ſtates, and the above 215,000 made in a ſingle ſtate, may be conſidered as more than equal in value to one fifth of the demand, a quarter of the number being of fur. It is to be remembered, that leathern hats and fur caps are not rarely ſeen in the interior country. This branch has not

† The county of New-London, in Connecticut, contains ſeventeen hatters, who make yearly 10,000 wool and fur hats.

grown up ſuddenly in America; but was commenced among our firſt manufactures, and has made a regular progreſs with the population. The furs of the country have at once held out a ſtrong temptation and afforded the eaſy means. Latterly, the increaſe of wool has given a great extenſion to the manufacture. The practical difficulties, ſuggeſted by lord Sheffield, can gain little credit under ſo ſucceſsful a courſe of the buſineſs: but the truth is, that few handicrafts are more quickly acquired by apprentices.

BOOKS.

"All ſchool and common books," in the opinion of lord Sheffield, "may be ſent cheaper from Britain, than they can be printed in America." The great and conſtant increaſe of paper mills in the united ſtates, the extenſion of thoſe longeſt erected, the eſtabliſhment of type founderies, and the introduction of engravers and bookbinders, have made a greater change in regard to *the buſineſs of book printing*, than has happened with reſpect to any other equally valuable branch of manual art.* The Latin and Greek ſchool books are imported in greater numbers than heretofore; becauſe our population is conſiderably increaſed, ſince the ſeparation from Great-Britain, and the uſe of them is too limited to render an edition profitable: but a very great proportion of the Engliſh ſchool books (which are in general uſe) are printed here. Of ſome kinds there are none imported; and ſeveral of them, with alterations and improvements, have been publiſhed. A number of the law books, which are moſt demanded, have been reprinted with advantage: and an edition of the Encyclopædia, in fifteen large quartos, containing about 5 per cent. more matter than that printed in Great-Britain, is now publiſhing at ſeventy dollars,

* The advertiſement of a ſingle book-ſtore in Philadelphia, publiſhed in the gazettes of the preſent year, contains ſeventy editions of different books printed in the united ſtates.

or fifteen guineas—preciſely the price charged to *ſubſcribers* for the Britiſh edition. The cuts in the American copy are equally numerous, and are really the beſt.

There are two circumſtances, which will eſtabliſh the book-printing buſineſs in this country—the opportunity of publiſhing immediately, for the American demand, all books in every European language*, within the term of the copy right; and the printing of moderate ſized and plain editions, inſtead of the large, ornamented, and expenſive copies which are now the faſhion in Europe. A ſuperb quarto, on the beſt vellum paper, with an elegant, but unneceſſary copperplate frontiſpiece, richly gilt and lettered, (the dreſs in which modern writers often introduce their works) coſts more than is agreeable to the people of this country, who deſire valuable matter for their money. The freight, duties, and other charges of importation, depending either on the bulk or value, are very much enhanced; and our printers find it eaſy to embrace the opportunity which theſe cirumſtances afford them, to furniſh their countrymen with a cheap octavo, and ſometimes even a duodecimo, in its ſtead.

German ſchool books are much demanded in this country, as may be ſuppoſed, when it is remembered how numerous, in the united ſtates, the perſons are, who read and ſpeak that language—probably 150,000 to 180,000 of our people. Theſe books are either imported from Holland, or the Hanſe towns, or printed in America. England ſupplies none of them.

The extenſion of the French language, together with the intercourſe between the united ſtates and that nation, which took place in the year 1776, and the alliance in 1778, with which it was followed, will naturally be ſuppoſed to have increaſed the demand for French books. Theſe are principally imported from France, the Hanſe towns, Holland, and Flanders; and ſome few are printed in America.

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* The firſt premium for excellency in printing was adjudged by the Pennſylvania manufacturing ſociety to the publiſhers of a book in the *German* language, in the inland town of Lancaſter.

Books in these two languages could not be imported, before the revolution, from any country, except Great Britain: but are now drawn, as above mentioned, from other foreign sources, or the American printing presses.

That the Americans will in future give a preference to British manufactures before all others—that it will be a long time before the Americans will manufacture for themselves—and that our demand for British goods will increase in proportion to our population.

The manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland are very generally good, often excellent, and almost always as handsome as the nature of the article will admit. Yet, there are not wanting proofs, that we shall take considerable quantities of goods from other countries. Twenty-two ships, for example, arrived in the united states from St. Petersburg, in the year 1790, with cordage, ticking, drillings, diaper, broad linens, narrow linens, printed linens, crash, sheetings, ravens duck, Russia duck, nail rods, and rolled iron for hoops. The remainder of their cargoes were bar iron, hemp, and flax, which were intended to be manufactured here. Nankeens, silks, long-cloths, porcelain and some small articles, are imported regularly from China: and muslins, plain, striped, figured, and printed, with silks, and a variety of other articles, are imported from India. It being manifestly injurious to the manufacturing interest of every nation in Europe, even to import, and much more so to consume these goods, there can be no doubt, that they will be supplied to us in the East Indies, with more readiness every year; and if a few more callico printers were to establish themselves among us, the importation of printed callicoes and cottons might be exceedingly diminished. The importation also of dowlas, oznaburghs, ticklenburgs, and other German linens, and of Haerlem stripes, and tapes, from Bremen, Hamburgh, and Amsterdam, together with the manufactory of every ton of hemp, and almost every ton of flax, which we

raiſe or import, has very much affected the Britiſh and Iriſh linen trade. It appears from various documents, that the average exports of their manufactures to the united ſtates for ſeveral years prior to the year 1789, were near half a million of dollars leſs than the average exports of ſeveral years immediately antecedent to the war, though our population has probably doubled in the laſt twenty-five years. It is not improbable, however, that the great quantities of goods ſhipt ſince 1789, in conſequence of the jealouſy of American manufactures, the apprehenſions of a rupture with Spain, and the efforts of the Britiſh cotton manufacturers to baniſh Eaſt India goods from our markets, would ſhow a conſiderable increaſe in the laſt and preſent years. In ſhort, the united ſtates are an open market; the American merchants are men of judgment and enterpriſe; and conſequently the goods of every country in the world, which are adapted to our conſumption, are found in our warehouſes. It is certainly true, that among them are very large quantities of Britiſh manufactures, being much and juſtly approved, and being imported on convenient credits by our merchants, and copiouſly ſhipped by Britiſh merchants and manufacturers on their own account, to their correſpondents here. If properly conducted on both ſides, it may yet be a very beneficial trade to the two countries; but it has not excluded the valuable goods of other nations, nor has it prevented a great progreſs of our own manufactures, particularly in the family way. Cordage, gunpowder, ſteel, nails, paper, paper-hangings, books, ſtationary, linſeed oil, carriages, hats, wool and cotton cards, ſtockings, ſhoes, boots, ſhot, and many other articles are made in conſiderable quantities, ſome of them as far as fifty per centum on the demand, and others in quantities nearly equal to the conſumption. Liberal wages, and cheap and excellent living, free from any exciſe, except a very ſmall one, (compared with any in Europe) upon ſpiritous liquors, operate daily to bring us manufacturers and artizans in the manual branches; and we are beginning to ſee the great, and to us, the *peculiar* value of labour-ſaving machines. The rate of

manual labour is no objection againſt them, but abſolutely in their favour; for it is clear, that they yield the greateſt profit in countries where the price of labour is the higheſt. The firſt judicious European capitaliſts who ſhall take good ſituations in the united ſtates, and eſtabliſh manufactories, by labour-ſaving machines, muſt rapidly and certainly make fortunes. They cannot, it is preſumed, be long inſenſible of this; but if they ſhould continue ſo, the appreciation of our public ſtocks will probably bring ſome of our own capitaliſts into the buſineſs. The public creditors, the owners of perhaps ſifteen millions ſterling, of now inactive wealth, might at this moment do much towards the introduction of the cotton mills, wool mills, flax mills, and other valuable branches of machine manufacturing. It is paſt a doubt, that were a company of perſons of character and judgment to ſubſcribe a ſtock for this purpoſe, of 500,000 dollars in the public paper, they might obtain, upon a depoſit of it, a loan of as much coin from ſome foreign nation, at an intereſt leſs than ſix per cent. Was ſuch a company to be incorporated, to have its ſtock transferable as in a bank, to receive ſubſcriptions from 400 dollars upwards, to purchaſe 500 or 1000 acres of land well ſituated for receiving imported materials and exporting their fabrics—were they to erect works in the centre of ſuch a body of land, to lay out their grounds in a convenient town-plat, and proceed with judgment and ſyſtem in their plan, they would be ſure of ſucceſs in their manufactories; they would raiſe a valuable town upon their land, and would help to ſupport the value of the public debt*. Were a few eſtabliſhments like that deſcribed to take place (and there are room and funds for many of them) even the manufactories of *piece goods*, of every kind in which machinery could be applied, would ſoon be introduced with profit into

* This meaſure, which was in contemplation at the time when theſe papers were written, has been ſince digeſted and commenced. The capital already engaged amounts to above 250,000 dollars.

the united ſtates. It cannot, on cool reflexion, be expected, that a country remote from all the manufacturing nations, and able to produce the requiſite raw materials, will continue to depend on diſtant tranſmarine ſources, for the maſs of her neceſſary ſupplies. The wonderful progreſs of other nations, which have commenced manufactures under diſadvantages much greater than any we have to contend with, will powerfully incite us to exertion. Until the year 1667, a piece of woolen cloth was never dyed and dreſſed in England. This great manufacture was quickly after improved by the ſkill of foreign emigrants, (a mean at our command); and ſo rapidly has the woolen branch advanced, that it was eſtimated, in 1783, at the immenſe ſum of £.16,800,000 ſterling (above ſeventy-four millions of dollars) per annum, and was equal in value to all the exports, and ſuperior to all the revenues of Great Britain. It may, perhaps, be aſked, why manufactures were not eſtabliſhed in the late war? Any man, who makes a compariſon of a variety of branches as they were in 1774, and as they ſtood in 1782, will perceive a great advance to have taken place, though manufactures were little encouraged, through the intermediate eight years, by reaſon of the total occupation of government in the proſecution of the war: their importance moreover was not duly eſtimated. The Britiſh manufacturers, who can now emigrate with the greateſt convenience, then viewed the people of this country as enemies. Neither they, nor the people of other nations cared to riſque themſelves in an invaded country, nor would they hazard a capture in their paſſages hither. Notwithſtanding theſe impediments, the mauufacturers of the united ſtates have been found to be the moſt ſucceſsful competitors with thoſe of Great Britain in the American market. They have not made fine linens, fine cloths, ſilks, ſtuffs, and other articles requiring a great degree of ſkill, labour, or capital; but they have made common cloths of linen, woolen, and cotton, ſteel, nails, ſheet iron, paper, gunpowder, cabinet work, carriages, ſhoes, and fabrics of the ſimple but moſt important kinds. ☞ *See ſupplementary note, con-*

eerning the progreſs and preſent ſtate of American domeſtic or houſehold manufactures, which follows, No. VII.

That it would be impolitic in Great Britain, to admit American veſſels into her Weſt India iſlands.

This is a very momentous queſtion to Great Britain; and therefore whatever may be the real merits of it, the people of that country might have been expected to conſider it with firſt impreſſions unfavourable to the admiſſion of foreigners. It is alſo probable, that the Americans may have taken a partial view of the ſubject, from the intereſt they have to obtain a participation in the Britiſh Weſt India trade. There are two poſitions of lord Sheffield, relative to this ſubject, which appear conformable with truth and reaſon, and in which it is of great conſequence, that we ſhould, on mature reflexion, agree. The firſt is, "*That the cultivation of the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands might be carried much farther than it is*," which he ſupports by obſerving, "*that the produce of the iſland of Jamaica might be trebled at leaſt.*" The ſecond is, "*That the nation which may hereafter be in poſſeſſion of the moſt extenſive and beſt-cultivated ſugar iſlands, will take the lead at ſea.*"

If the firſt of theſe poſitions be true, both in regard to the Britiſh Weſt Indies in general, and the iſland of Jamaica in particular, then it becomes a matter of the utmoſt importance, by reaſon of the ſecond poſition, to adopt the beſt poſſible ſyſtem for promoting the cultivation of the vacant lands and improved eſtates in the ſeveral iſlands. Perſons, who have contended with the difficulties and expenſes of ſettling new plantations, and who are acquainted with the management of Weſt India eſtates, will be ſenſible, that cheap ſupplies of building materials, and other neceſſary incipient articles, give the greateſt facility and certainty to thoſe who are ſtruggling to effect a new ſettlement: and keeping down the contingent expenſes of planting and raiſing produce, and of packing and preparing the crop for market, is manifeſtly a ſure mean of increaſing the pro-

ſts of an eſtate. In this point of light, it muſt be immenſely againſt the Britiſh Weſt India producers of 7,500,000 gallons of rum, and 2,000,000 cwt. of ſugars, with cotton, coffee, piemento and other articles, that they receive their ſtaves, boards, proviſions, and other ſupplies, on terms ſo much higher than the French, the Dutch, and the Danes. While the iſlands of France were furniſhed in the laſt year, by French and American bottoms, with red oak hogſhead ſtaves, at 12, 14, and 16 dollars---with hoops, at 14 to 28 dollars---with pine boards, at 11 to 16 dollars---with Indian meal, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{2}{3}$ dollars per barrel---with ſhip bread, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, and with rice, at 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per 108 pounds; the Britiſh planters in Jamaica were obliged to pay for red oak hogſhead ſtaves, 24, 27, and 31 dollars; for wooden hoops, 27, 30, and 36 dollars; for pine boards, 24, 27, and 30 dollars; for Indian meal $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{4}$ dollars; for ſhip bread the ſame; and for rice per 100 pounds $3\frac{1}{3}$ to $5\frac{1}{4}$ dollars. Let conſiderate men determine, whether the Britiſh colonial agriculture muſt not be depreſſed, and that of the French be exceedingly elevated, under ſuch circumſtances. It is plain that the latter will find it eaſy to extend their plantations into grounds now uncultivated, if the Britiſh planters ſhould be able to endure their diſadvantages. In conformity with this reaſoning, we find that the produce of French St. Domingo, ſhipt to Europe, which, before the late war, is ſtated by lord Sheffield to have employed no more than 450 ſhips, was ſufficient, in the year 1788, to load for France 580 ſhips, of $370\frac{3}{4}$ tons on a medium, and 110 of 740 tons, (excluſive of the numerous French and foreign veſſels employed in the trade with North and South America,) amounting in the whole to 296,435 tons, nearly equal to one third of the private ſhips of Britain. The whole of the veſſels loaded in 1787, from all the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands to England and Scotland, amounted to but 132,222 tons. In 1788 the quantity was the ſame, and as the writer of the obſervations admits that the produce of Jamaica was before the war two thirds in value (though leſs in bulk) of that of St.

Domingo, the Britiſh colonial agriculture muſt have advanced, if at all, in a much leſs degree than that of the French. This great increaſe of the French navigation, reſulting from a proſperous Weſt Indian agriculture, *abundantly and cheaply ſupplied*, is a verification of the prediction of lord Sheffield, which was mentioned above, and induces the moſt reaſonable doubts, whether it would be really impolitic in Great Britain to admit American veſſels into her Weſt India iſlands. As it is of great importance to this argument, to eſtabliſh the actual increaſe of the French produce upon ſtronger ground than even the higheſt probability, it may be uſeful to ſtate, that the ſugars exported from St. Domingo, in 1786, were near 133 millions of pounds; in 1788, near 163 millions and an half; that the coffee in 1786 was about 51 millions of pounds; and, on the average of 1787 and 1788, near 70 millions; and that the cotton, in 1786, was 5,200,000 pounds—and, on the average of 1787 and 1788, above 6,500,000 pounds—and that the melaſſes, which in 1786 was 21,855 hhds. was increaſed, in 1788, to 29,503.

The augmentation of the French veſſels, employed from St. Domingo alone, appears to be equal to 108,000 tons. If the whole of their ſugar colonies have proſpered in the ſame degree, it is probable their acquiſition of ſhipping may be ſafely eſtimated at 162,000 tons, which is 47,000 tons more than lord Sheffield ſuppoſes to have been employed, before the American revolution, between the Britiſh ſugar iſlands and *all* the American provinces, and is very far beyond the tonnage employed at this time in the trade of thoſe iſlands with the united ſtates. The Britiſh publications repreſent it to be leſs than 21,000 tons, making three voyages per annum, the aggregate entries of which they conſider as about 62,000 tons.

It is alleged, that American veſſels cannot be admitted without offence to other countries: but that has not been found an objection to the admiſſion by the French. Nor, if the regulation were properly made, would the allies of England have any cauſe of complaint; for they might participate in the trade, if they could find advan-

tage in ſo doing, which however would not be the caſe. The ſhips of Ruſſia, of Holland, of Great Britain, of Spain, of Portugal, of the united ſtates, and of all other foreign countries, may enter the French iſlands with the ſame kinds of goods, even American articles. The Engliſh, indeed, would be much more protected in the iſland trade than the French; becauſe by other clauſes in their laws, the goods brought by each flag muſt be its own national productions.

It may be argued that the Americans would take a large proportion of the carriage to the Britiſh iſlands: but this, if true, is the ſtrongeſt proof, that can be adduced, of the expediency of the meaſure, as calculated to promote the colonial agriculture, and thus aid and ſupport the navy of Great Britain. France, it is ſeen, by the mode propoſed, has added much more to her ſhipping, in the trade of a ſingle iſland, than England enjoys in the monopoly of the intercourſe with all her iſlands, by the mode ſhe purſues. The Britiſh ſhipping, too, if ours were admitted, would certainly maintain themſelves in a conſiderable portion of the trade: and in proof of this, it may be obſerved, that the French employ of their own veſſels in their Weſt India trade from this country, near two thirds of the tonnage, that is engaged in their commerce between theſe ſtates and the kingdom of France. It is material to obſerve, that in the intercourſe between the French iſlands and the united ſtates, the tonnage of the Britiſh, Dutch, Spaniſh, Danes, Swedes, and Portugueſe, does not amount to two per cent. upon the whole of the veſſels employed.

That it would be better for Britain to give up the iſlands than their carrying trade.

As the arguments adduced by lord Sheffield, relate only to the carrying trade between the united ſtates and the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands, the obſervations will proceed on the ſame ground. The whole freight between the two countries prior to the war, he eſtimates at £.245,000, rather than loſe which, he thinks it better

to give up thoſe valuable iſlands, the produce whereof, according to various eſtimations, is worth three or four millions ſterling, and whoſe inhabitants are very free conſumers of Britiſh manufactures. A prudent adminiſtration ſhould beware of a writer, who deceives himſelf by too ardently maintaining a favourite hypotheſis. But a relinquiſhment of the trade, on the part of Great Britain, is not deſired; nor can a loſs of it be ſuppoſed to follow the admiſſion of our veſſels to a participation in it. The ſhips always employed in the circuitous voyage would ſtill continue to purſue it; thoſe belonging to the Weſt Indians themſelves, the Bahamans, the Bermudians, and the northern Britiſh colonies, would ſtill enjoy a large proportion: the remainder would be done by the Americans, who now ſuffer the Britiſh nation to employ a large quantity of tonnage in imports from, and exports to foreign countries, other than Britiſh, without any reciprocation.

That the ſhipping Great Britain gains, by excluding the Americans, will be at hand.

Lord Sheffield undertakes to ſay, that the navigation of thoſe provinces, which are now the united ſtates, operated as a drain of Britiſh ſeamen; and conveys an idea, that the ſailors employed here, were of no uſe to Britain. The prompt manning of their ſhips on this ſtation, the cheap and certain ſupply of their Weſt Indies, in the war of 1755 to 1762, the diſtreſs to the French and Spaniſh trade by American privateers, the affair of cape Breton, the great exportation of prize goods from this country, and other weighty facts, might be adduced to prove this not the ſmalleſt of his errors. Aſſuming that we were too remote to be of any uſe in time of war, he proceeds to a concluſion, that the navigation employed in the ſupply of the iſlands, will be hereafter nearer home, inferring that it will belong to the merchants of their European dominions. This may be in a great degree the caſe, as to the ſugar

ſhips, which make the circuitous voyage from Europe to the united ſtates, the Weſt Indies and Europe; and it was equally ſo, as to that deſcription of traders, before the revolution: but the direct intercourſe between theſe ſtates and the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands, from which we are excluded, muſt, from the nature of the trade, be carried on principally in veſſels owned in thoſe iſlands, whoſe ſituation is more remote than ours, and by Britiſh ſubjects reſiding in our ports, Bermudians, and the people of the northern Britiſh colonies, all of whom are as diſtant as we.

That Ameria could never be united again,

Was a ſettled opinion of the writer of the obſervations. He did not perceive that accident, principally, had caſt us into the form of thirteen ſtates. It is true, that the extreme injuries of diſunion were not generally foreſeen by many of our own citizens. The utility—the neceſſity of ſtrengthening the national government, had not come home, as it has ſince done, to the minds of the American people. Many of their friends, however, ſaw with regret, and ſome of thoſe who were not their friends, perceived with a ſatisfaction not the moſt honourable, that the proſpects of individual happineſs, and of national proſperity, had ceaſed to be fair. The moſt miſerable ill, that can afflict the political body, *the want of a fit organization*, had brought on alarming convulſions; and there were no evils which were not to be apprehended, unleſs a change of ſyſtem could be effected. In this moment, the friends of order came forth. The jarring intereſts, on the effects of which the writer relies, were made to harmonize. The difference of "manners, of climates, and of ſtaples," did not intervene, according to his expectations, as inſurmountable obſtacles to amity and union. That hearty co-operation, the hope of which is treated as prepoſterous, has actually taken place: and the American people now univerſally perceive, "that whatever meaſures have a tendency to

diſſolve the union, or contribute to violate or leſſen the ſovereign authority, ought to be conſidered as hoſtile to their liberty and independency."

It remains, then, for thoſe, who have believed in theſe predictions of ruinous contentions among the people, and an enfeebling diſcord in the councils of the united ſtates, to conſider, in ſo different a courſe of things, the conduct which ought to be obſerved: and for us it remains ſteadily to proceed in the good work of *reſtoring* and *firmly ſecuring* public order, as the certain and only means of private and public happineſs.

FOURTH NUMBER.

THE article, which next preſents itſelf, is that of

NAVAL STORES.

It appears to lord Sheffield, that Ruſſia will interfere much with the American ſtates, in the ſupply of theſe commodities. The quantities exported, agreeably to his table for 1771, and our return in 1791, appear to have been,

In 1771.	Barrels.		Barrels.	*In the return for*
of pitch,	9,144		8,875	*13½ mo.*
tar,	82,075		85,067	
turpentine,	17,014	worth then	28,326	worth now
reſin,	223	156,000	316	217,945
ſpirits of turpentine,	41	dollars.	193	dollars.
Total	108,497		122,777	

From this increaſe of value, it appears, that the united ſtates have not ſuffered from the competition of Ruſſia, or any other country; but that in this article, like moſt others, we experience the advantage of being *an open*

market, free from the Britiſh monopoly, which exiſted before the revolution. In addition to this large exportation, conſiderable quantities have been conſumed, in manufactures which have been introduced or extended ſince the year 1771 : and a very large quantity has been purchaſed for the repairs and ſtores of 770,000 tons of veſſels, of various nations, employed in the foreign trade, the coaſting trade, and the fiſheries, and in the building of ſhips, which greatly exceed the number built on a medium of 1769 to 1771.

POT AND PEARL ASHES.

THESE articles, lord Sheffield ventures to affirm, can be made to greater advantage in Canada and Nova Scotia, than elſewhere in America, on account of the plenty of wood, and owing to the great quantity of fuel conſumed in a long and ſevere winter. It is well known, that the people of this continent do not attempt to make theſe ſalts out of any of the terebinthine woods*, (though it is ſaid to be practiſed in the north of Europe,) and that the growth of trees in the remaining Britiſh colonies, is principally of thoſe kinds. Abundant proof that they have little oak, is derived from the ſmall quantity of ſtaves, heading, oak timber, and oak planks, which they export, and from the quantities of them, which they import from the united ſtates. But had they the proper kinds of fuel, that would not be ſufficient; for a certain degree of population is neceſſary to this manufacture. The number of people in the whole of the northern Britiſh colonies, is perhaps 160,000 or 180,000, while the united ſtates have more than twenty times their number, of whom two-thirds inhabit ſcenes much more abundant in wood and timber than Canada and Nova Scotia. Their cuſtom houſe books will ſhow what pot aſh thoſe colonies export. Although our writer ſuppoſes, that the

* The barks of hemlock, pine, fir, and larch, are ſaid to be very productive of pot aſh.

united ſtates will yield *leſs than they have heretofore done*, we find, that the return of the treaſury exhibited the great quantity of 8,568 tons, though the export, on the medium of 1768, 1769, and 1770, was only 2008 tons, and 5 cwt.

In treating of pot-aſh, lord Sheffield takes occaſion to digreſs to the article of coal, and obſerves, that to encourage the Britiſh collieries, and carrying trade, they ſhould prevent the getting of coal on the iſland of Cape Breton. It was among the diſadvantages, which, it was alleged, the united ſtates would ſuſtain by the ſeparation from Great Britain, that the collieries of Cape Breton were to be particularly barred againſt them. This, like many other evils, which were apprehended, has vaniſhed on a recurrence to the reſources of the country. The collieries on James river will not only abundantly ſupply the extenſive territory watered by the rivers of the Cheſapeak and by that bay itſelf; but they promiſe to afford a very valuable nurſery for ſeamen in the tranſportation of their contents to all the ſea-ports of the united ſtates. They already furniſh coal on terms much lower than the *minimum* of the firſt coſt and charges of importation: and as labour is declining in price, and a ſhort water communication, between the mines and the ſhipping place, is nearly completed, there is no doubt that foreign coal will be rendered a very loſing commodity, and that it muſt finally be excluded from our markets. The interior country is plentifully ſupplied by nature with this valuable foſſil.

HORSES.

Lord Sheffield treats of this article with great ingenuity. He raiſes expectations in the government and people of Great Britain, that the Weſt Indies may draw ſupplies of theſe uſeful animals from Canada, and conſiders Nova Scotia as having greatly the advantage of Canada and the united ſtates in her capacity for the exportation of them. It is ſtated as certain, that a trade for horſes will be carried on by that province. The diſtance of Great

Britain and Ireland do not appear to reſtrain his ſanguine hopes, that horſes may be ſhipt to the Weſt Indies from thoſe two countries. He proceeds further, and ſuggeſts the ſupply of the probable deficiency of horſes with mules from Barbary, from whence they are to be obtained in abundance, (though at a high price) and from Porto Rico and the Miſſiſſippi. In ſhort, knowing the importance of horſes to the Weſt India planters, he takes great pains to ſhew, that they may relinquiſh, without inconvenience, the cheap and certain ſupplies which they formerly enjoyed, and which the French, Danes, and Dutch now enjoy by means of deep-waiſted American veſſels, manned by perſons accuſtomed to the buſineſs.

There is, perhaps, no article, in proportion to the value, in which the Britiſh iſlands ſuffer more deeply by the preſent footing of their intercourſe with theſe ſtates, than in that of which we are now treating. This country is particularly fitted for the raiſing of horſes, and affords them in very increaſed numbers. The exportation of them in the year 1770, which was entirely to the Weſt Indian iſlands, was, by lord Sheffield's tables, 6,692; and the exportation of them by the treaſury return, already referred to, was 8,628, beſides 237 mules. The laſt article has been added to the liſt of exports, ſince the year 1770, and promiſes to become very conſiderable, though mules have not a place in lord Sheffield's book among the ſupplies which may be derived from the united ſtates. The Britiſh Weſt India iſlands are ſtated to have taken off, before the revolution, two fifths of the above number, or 2,676 horſes; but it appears by the late return, that there were ſhipt thither, in thirteen months and a half, no more than nine hundred and ſixteen horſes and mules; from which it is manifeſt, that the preſent mode of carrying on the trade deprives them of above two thirds of their former ſupply of theſe animals, which are admitted in the obſervations, to be "*eſſentially neceſſary.*" The price of thoſe they do obtain, muſt of courſe be much enhanced by an unſatisfied demand three fold greater than the importation, and by the

expenſe of conveying them in Britiſh ſhips, which, being very generally in the double-decked form, are dangerous for the tranſportation of horſes on deck, and carry them at an immenſe freight in the hold. Here is another very injurious inſtance, of depreſſing the Weſt India agriculture. The caſe with the Dutch is very different. Their ſugar colonies, though much leſs populous than thoſe of Great Britain, received in the above term, about ſeven hundred and ſixty horſes and mules. The French, as in regard to the other articles of neceſſary ſupplies, not produced by their own dominions, receive theſe animals, without impediment, in our veſſels, and their own, indiſcriminately. The preciſe number, which was ſhipt to their iſlands, before the revolution, is not aſcertained: but, as lord Sheffield alleges, that the whole number exported to the foreign ſugar colonies was, in 1770, about 4,015, ſome part of which the Dutch and Danes received—and as it appears by the late return, that about 7,000 horſes and mules were ſhipt to the French ſugar plantations, during its term, it is manifeſt, that they have increaſed their importations 80, 90, or 100 per cent. It is unneceſſary to reiterate here, that they will receive proportionate advantages in their colonial agriculture, (and to the ſhips employed in tranſporting its produce) from ſo capital an addition to one of their moſt uſeful ſupplies.

That "France will not ſuffer America to ſupply her with ſhips,"

IS contradicted by the fact*. That kingdom by rejecting American veſſels, would have ſo far ſacrificed her carrying trade to the manufacture of ſhips. She wiſely

* Immediately after the firſt publication of this paper, the French regulation, confining their flag to native ſhips, was received in America. What will be found under this head, which was written before the regulation was known, may ſerve as a ſincere comment on this new reſtriction.

purchaſes, upon the cheapeſt terms, *the cradles* for her marine nurſery. The firſt and great object of the maritime powers ought to be, *the increaſe of the number of their ſailors*, which is beſt done by multiplying their chances of employment. Among the means of doing this, one of the moſt obvious and rational is, *the multiplication of veſſels*. The French-built ſhips coſt from 55 to 60 dollars per ton, when fitted to receive a cargo, and excluſively of ſea ſtores, inſurance, the charges of lading, outward pilotage, and other expenſes incidental to the employment, and not to the building and outfit of a veſſel. The American live-oak and cedar ſhips, to which none are ſuperior, coſt in the ſame ſituation, from 33 to 35 dollars, finiſhed very completely. If the French require 10,000 tons of new veſſels, on any occaſion, or in any term of time, they may be procured in the united ſtates, on a computation of the medium price of 34 dollars per ton, for the ſum of 340,000 dollars: but, if bought at 55 dollars, the loweſt price in France, they would coſt the much greater ſum of 550,000 dollars. No argument is neceſſary to ſhow, that ſuch a nation, *cæteris paribus*, muſt prefer ſeamen more rapidly, than thoſe who refuſe theſe cheap veſſels.

It would appear much leſs unreaſonable, that the government of the united ſtates ſhould prohibit the ſale of ſhips, (*the means of obtaining naval ſtrength,*) to foreign nations, than that any of them ſhould reject the great advantage of ſo cheap and excellent a ſupply. And ſhould the French, Britiſh, and other foreign nations continue to decline the purchaſe of American-built ſhips, there can be no doubt, that we ſhall take a greater portion of *the carrying trade* for ourſelves and other countries, from that cauſe.

That the navigation act gave, and that an adherence to it, will ſecure to Great Britain the commerce of the world.

THERE is no doubt, that Great Britain has hereto-

fore obtained, in proportion to the number of its people, a very great ſhare of trade both foreign and internal. But the value of her imports in 1774, was not ten per cent. more than that of the imports of France. Holland* had, at the ſame time, a very great trade; as had ſeveral other countries in Europe. It would have been beyond the truth, if lord Sheffield had ſaid that Britain had a fifth "of the commerce of the world." It may appear, at firſt view, of little uſe, and even invidious, to notice this remark: *but it is really of importance to a reaſonable and accurate eſtimation of things, to correct ſuch extravagancies.* Theſe hyperbolical expreſſions tend to miſlead. They occaſion a people erroneouſly to ſuppoſe, they have the world at their command, and render the moſt ſalutary and reaſonable arrangements more difficult than they ought to be. They alſo help to ſwell the popular torrent againſt a clear-ſighted, honeſt, and candid miniſter, who may attempt meaſures, fit in themſelves, and even neceſſary to the national intereſts.

But whatever may have been the truth of the aſſertion, that Great Britain *heretofore* engroſſed the commerce of the world, a different courſe of things has taken place, and is to be expected hereafter, with regard to her and every other country. It is manifeſt, that a prodigious, and almoſt univerſal revolution in the views of nations, with regard to the carrying trade, has taken place. The extenſion of the ſpirit of commerce and the conſequent inclination and capacity for naval power, have occaſioned this change. The jealouſy of trade, which gave birth to the Britiſh navigation act, is now felt as well by the ſovereigns, as by the citizens, of every country in Europe. They have become ſenſible, that commerce is at once a great ſource of private wealth and of national power. The general prevalence of theſe views is daily producing commercial regulations, (injurious of-

* Mr. Eden ſtated, ſince the American war, that the exports and imports of Holland, in foreign goods only, were 18,000,000l. ſterling.

ten to the country making them) intended to ſecure to the citizens of each nation thoſe benefits, which were formerly enjoyed by the carrying and manufacturing ſtates. Thoſe, who have heretofore enjoyed the trade of other countries, and in a very extenſive degree, muſt neceſſarily be the firſt to feel the inconveniencies of this change of meaſures: and they muſt eventually experience them in proportion to their former advantages. The private ſhipping of the Hanſe towns and of the united Netherlands, have already felt the conſequences of theſe views. Thoſe traders, indeed, might once have almoſt claimed the commerce of the world. There is conſiderable danger, however, that this anxious deſire of trade may occaſion ſome of the maritime nations to give too free and ſtrong operation to principles, which are not exceptionable in the preſent ſtate of things, if properly directed and reſtrained; for it is manifeſt, that countries with a great agricultural intereſt, will err exceedingly in purſuing, as far as poſſible, meaſures, which may not be found inconvenient to nations oppoſitely circumſtanced.

With reſpect to Great Britain, the object of her navigation act was to expel the Dutch from her carrying trade, and thus to decreaſe the ability of her rivals to maintain and ſuddenly to increaſe their navy. Situated as things then were, the Britiſh were probably right, as to the object in view: *and from the inſenſibility of Europe to the nature and operation of the Engliſh marine code*, they gained incidentally, and for a long time, immenſe advantages in the commerce of other ſtates, for which they originally did not look. *This ſituation of things is now thoroughly underſtood.* The ſhipping of Britain in conſequence will hereafter find rivals in the private veſſels of ſeveral foreign countries, and there appears the utmoſt improbability, that ſhe can continue to retain any extraordinary ſhare of the carrying trade for other nations. The tenure of it is manifeſtly in the greateſt degree precarious; becauſe it abſolutely depends on the laws of other countries, and on the continuance of inattention in their commercial citizens.

The value of the carrying trade, it may alſo be ob-

ſerved, is very materially altered. Inſtead of being, as formerly, a profitable monopoly (if we may ſo ſpeak) in the hands of two nations, it is now diffuſed among ten or twelve. The great advantages, too, which accrued to Britain from cheap proviſions—ſuperior and cheap ſhips—and low wages to ſeamen, are now loſt. Bread and meat, from the increaſe of manufacturers, are imported into that iſland—wages have conſiderably advanced, if we take into the calculation the great fiſhing bounties---the expenſes of ſhip building have increaſed---the French* are admitted to have obtained the pre-eminence in naval architecture, and it appears, from a minute return, exhibited in Anderſon's commerce, that the oak timber of Great Britain, in forty years preceding 1771, had decreaſed nine tenths; and that it had advanced in price above 40 per cent. in the courſe of the nineteen antecedent years. It will not be forgotten, that the expenditure of twenty years, including a naval war, in which an unparalleled number of ſhips was built, has ſince occurred further to exhauſt their ſtock of ſhip timber. Nor ſhould it be overlooked, that vaſt demands were made for this article to replace the private ſhipping which were loſt to the Britiſh nation by the American revolution. The conſumption of ſhip timber from 1774 to 1785, appears, from the papers of the Britiſh ſociety for naval architecture, to have been three times as great as in any equal term before.

The ſudden command of ſeamen by means of *impreſſment* is too ſtrong an operation of the executive power, too great an outrage againſt the rights of men, and the ſacred peace of families, long to be endured in the preſent courſe of European affairs. Thoſe prompt exertions of naval ſtrength, by which Great Britain has heretofore gained advantages, will be affected by an alteration in this particular, at leaſt ſo far as regards unprofitable, unjuſt, and ambitious wars, into which all nations are occaſionally led.

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* See papers of the Britiſh ſociety for naval architecture.

Theſe remarks, it is preſumed, will not be miſconſtrued, as of an invidious nature. *It is a ſeaſon requiring a true ſtate of things.* They are intended as diſpaſſionate and reaſonable anſwers to the extravagant aſſertions and the contemptuous menaces of the writer of the obſervations, whoſe doctrines are as pernicious to Great Britain, as they are injurious to the united ſtates. "*Should a quarrel take place between the American ſtates and Great Britain, ſome ſtout frigates,*" he affirms, "*would completely command the commerce of this mighty continent.*"

It would not be improper to aſk, what argument is this very intelligent writer poſſeſſed of, to prove that ſo great a *permanent* diſparity will exiſt in favour of a nation, whoſe *exports* are now to their *expenſes*, as 18 to 16, over a nation whoſe exports to their expenſes are as 18 to 3? Why, can he inform us, ſhould the Britiſh exports or imports, neither of which will load 650,000 tons of veſſels, afford *a certain and permanent baſis* for a powerful navy, if thoſe of the united ſtates, which will lade 650,000 tons of veſſels, and are ſteadily increaſing, do not juſtify, under proper management, expectations equal to a few ſtout frigates? Such miſcalculations, on the part of any foreign nation, muſt lead to correſponding improprieties in their deportment towards us, or they muſt be candidly rejected.

That it muſt always be the ſituation of the united ſtates to court Great Britain.

TO evince the fallacy of this poſition, nothing more is neceſſary than to recollect ſome leading circumſtances in the trade of the two countries. Great Britain exports about £.18,000,000 ſterling, per ann. of which £.13,000,000 ſterling are her own manufactures. It will not be pretended, that we, as the principal cuſtomers, are to court the venders of *theſe goods*. A portion of the remaining £.5,000,000 is made up of our tobaccoes, rice, indigoes, ginſeng, and other productions, exported from their dominions in an unmanufactured ſtate. Of theſe, it will not be ſuppoſed we can be anxious to make *importations*.

The greater part of the remainder is made up of India, Ruſſian, German, and other articles, of foreign growth or manufacture, which Britain cannot furniſh but at ſecond hand; for which, conſequently, we are not under the neceſſity to court her, and which neither we nor any other nation ſhould receive from her European dominions, were we to purſue her navigation principles. The re-ſhipt commodities of Ireland, too, form no inconſiderable item in the liſt of Britiſh exports. For theſe we could be under no obligation to Great Britain, being manufactured goods, on the ſhipment of moſt of which to theſe ſtates and all the world, the Iriſh have long granted a very encouraging bounty. In regard to our exports to Great Britain, *they conſiſt principally of the eſſential elements of her manufactures, ſhipping, and navy.* Theſe are not only (in the language of lord Sheffield, when ſpeaking of the Ruſſian exports) more precious to her than gold, but are abſolute neceſſaries. Lumber of all kinds, bark, cotton, flax, iron, flaxſeed, wax, indigo, pot aſh, tar, pitch, turpentine, ſkins, and furs, are among the articles here contemplated. To theſe may be added, wheat, flour, and Indian corn, taken in ſmall quantities, except when neceſſity compels large importations; alſo tobacco and rice, which are conſumed in a ſmall proportion in Britain, but contribute to ſwell her exports, and increaſe her carrying trade to other countries. 'Tis manifeſt, that all theſe exports are much to be deſired on her part, and that it would be moſt profitable to the united ſtates, *to manufacture the raw materials, and to expend the proviſions on their own manufacturers;* and to furniſh the rice and tobacco, *by the direct voyage,* to thoſe nations which are ſupplied circuitouſly through Britiſh ports. In another point of view, the intercourſe with Great Britain is not particularly to be courted by the united ſtates. It has been already obſerved, that we imported of their manufactures, in 1784, £.3,648,007 ſterling, and in 1785 £.2,308,013, which appear, on a medium of thoſe two years, to have been equal to above one third of *the manufactures* they exported, to *all other foreign nations!* How *immenſely beneficial, how indiſpenſibly neceſſary* to the Britiſh

manufacturers, are ſuch conſumers? Let it be aſked, and candidly anſwered, if they or we are to court ſuch buſineſs? If any inviting meaſures are to be adopted by this country, it would be more wiſe to court the capitaliſts, manufacturers, and artizans, of the ſeveral kingdoms of Europe, which are overcharged with private wealth and population. It may be urged, that we are ſtrongly induced to court Great Britain for credit. The anſwer is, that ſhe cannot venture to withhold her fabrics, whatever may be our time of payment; for in the preſent ſtate of things, a year's abſence of Britiſh fabrics from our markets, would give an immenſe ſpring to our own manufactures. But there is a ſtrong ſymptom of the ability of the united ſtates to do without a very extenſive credit, from any particular nation, in the abundant ſupplies of China and Eaſt India goods, which are imported from every part of thoſe countries with which we trade, amounting, probably, to more than a fifth of our conſumption of foreign commodities. This independency on any particular nation, which is in the higheſt degree to be deſired, will be ſenſibly promoted by the eſtabliſhment of our good name in other foreign countries, by ſtrengthening our new and wholeſome guards around the rights of property, and by the recent multiplication and extenſion of banks. Though no ſuch pecuniary inſtitution exiſted ten years ago, ſix banks are eſtabliſhed now in five different cities; and their capitals exceed at this time a moiety of our importations. The accommodations and facilities which will reſult from them, muſt exceedingly promote the independency of the American merchant and conſumer, on foreign credits.

That "it will not be the intereſt of any of the great maritime powers, to protect the American veſſels from the Barbary ſtates."

THE luſt of power has ſeldom given riſe to a leſs reputable ſentiment in the boſom of an individual than that which we are now to notice. Like the inſtruction of the flagitious father to his ſon, to get money, it is ad-

viſed, that *naval ſtrength* ſhould be ſecured, *per fas et nefas*. But it is not aſſerted, that any nation maintains this doctrine. It has been urged in anſwer againſt us, that we import ſlaves, which has in a very great degree ceaſed; for the veſſels from Africa, in the whole returned year, were leſs than four hundred tons. But let the circumſtances of the caſe be examined and candidly conſidered. When high duties on the importation of ſlaves were impoſed before the revolution, by ſome of the colonial aſſemblies, they were rendered of no effect by *the negative of the crown*, upon the ſame principles, that now determine the conduct of many of the European ſhipholders and manufacturers---becauſe the abolition of the ſlave trade would curtail their reſpective profits. During and ſince the war, moſt of the ſtates have prohibited thoſe importations: ſeveral have aboliſhed ſlavery: and we find as above hinted, that no more than 385 tons of ſhipping arrived from Africa in twelve months ſubſequent to Auguſt 1789, in all the ſtates, belonging to us, and all other nations. Whether theſe had on board any ſlaves, is not known. *Great Britain* cannot preſs a country, thus conducting itſelf, on the ſubject of the ſlave trade, ſeeing that her colonies continue to import tens of thouſands per annum.

But it is conceived that the reverſe of lord Sheffield's poſition is true, and that it is the intereſt of moſt of the great maritime powers, to purſue meaſures, which might tend to free the Americans from the piracies of the Barbary ſtates. It may be among the means of transferring to thoſe nations, from Great Britain, "*a part of the ſovereignty of the ocean*" and "*a part of the commerce of the world, which*, it is alleged, *her naval power has ſecured to her.*" The balance of power, if it be accurately defined, muſt be ſtated to comprehend now the balance of *naval* power. To attain and preſerve that, the firſt ſtep is manifeſtly to diveſt any nation, which may poſſeſs it, of "the ſovereignty of the ocean." That ſovereignty can comport with the true intereſts and dignity of no other kingdom. It will be more advantageous to the ſeveral nations, who are not actually the firſt in the ſcale of naval power, that the united ſtates ſhould acquire a portion of

the marine force of a nation, too potent by ſea, than that ſuch nation, if it really has been the caſe, ſhould continue to give law upon the ocean: and it is manifeſt, that no one of thoſe nations can be ſatisfied, that any other ſhould preſcribe the law there. The deſtruction of no particular kingdom is alleged to be requiſite to the well being of this, or any other country: but it certainly is not neceſſary, that the other nations of the world ſhould promote, or acquieſce in meaſures, calculated to ſupport any one kingdom in a naval dictatorſhip. This degree of marine ſtrength is not requiſite for the ſelf-defence of any nation; and it may evidently be perverted to interrupt the commerce and to diſturb the tranquillity of Europe. Whether this has been caſe, (concerning which no aſſertion is here made) it remains for the parties concerned ſeverally to determine. If it has been, if it may be, and if it probably will be, then it alſo remains for them to decide, whether it be their true intereſt to join in the *honourable* league with the Barbarians againſt the honeſt commerce, and the perſonal liberties of the citizens of the united ſtates.

That "the Britiſh iſlands would be crouded with Dutch, French, and other foreign veſſels, if they were to be laid open."

A direct contradiction cannot be given to this aſſertion: but probabilities are ſtrongly againſt it. The free ports of the French iſlands are thus laid open; yet the whole tonnage, which uſually paſſes between them and the united ſtates, in the courſe of a year, excluſively of their own ſhips, thoſe of the united ſtates, and thoſe of Great Britain, do not exceed two per cent. of the whole tonnage employed in the trade; and though the Britiſh veſſels have an equal opportunity with the ſhips of France and of theſe ſtates, yet they carried but eight ſmall cargoes to all the French iſlands, during the returned year. From the nature of the Weſt India trade, and of the commodities tranſported, it cannot be ſupported, unleſs the veſſels be owned by the inhabitants of the iſlands,

or thoſe of this country. Similar facts occur, in examining the trade with the Dutch ports in the Weſt Indies, and on the main; and the ſame obſervations, it is conceived, would juſtly apply to them. But what are thoſe foreign veſſels to carry to the Engliſh iſlands? By the other Britiſh regulations, they could tranſport no *American* articles, and they cannot ſhip from their own dominions, with a chance of profit, any of the commodities which are permitted to be imported from foreign countries, into the Britiſh Weſt Indies.

FIFTH NUMBER

THE next errors in the obſervations of lord Sheffield, on which it is neceſſary to animadvert, are ſome which are not inconſiderable, with reſpect to the actual and probable

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

HE is of opinion that our population is not likely to increaſe as it has done on our coaſts; that we had fallen off in numbers in 1784; and that the emigration from the united ſtates would be very conſiderable. The ſtate of Rhode Iſland was proved by actual enumeration, in 1783, to contain 51,896 perſons. The unhappy condition of that government, and the conſequent interruption of its trade, fiſheries, and manufactures, from 1786 to the beginning of 1790, occaſioned great emigrations from thence into the other ſtates. Yet the cenſus, which was completed before the firſt day of May, in the preſent year, amounts to 68,825. Delaware, which, like Rhode Iſland, has no back country, and lies upon the coaſt, was eſtimated at 35,000 perſons, in a return, which lord Sheffield affirmedin 1783, to be too high. Its popula-

tion is proved, by the actual enumeration juſt completed, to be 59,094. Connecticut, another ſtate upon the coaſt, was computed in the ſame return, which he mentions, in 1784, to contain 206,000 perſons. It is well known, that its population, in proportion to its territory, was then, and is now, the greateſt in the union, and that it has been inceſſantly ſending emigrants to Maine, New Hampſhire, Vermont, New York, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the weſtern territory: yet its cenſus ſhows it to contain, at this time, 237,942 inhabitants. New-Jerſey, another ſtate without new or unſettled lands, is rated in the return, which lord Sheffield queſtions, at 150,000, and was proved by the enumeration, which was taken at the moment he hazarded this doubt, to contain 149,435 perſons. The cenſus ſhows its preſent population to be 184,139. New York was ſtated at 200,000, and now appears to be 340,120. Pennſylvania, which was ſaid to be eſtimated too high, in 1784, at 320,000, amounts to 434,373. Maſſachuſetts, including the diſtrict of Maine, is ſet down in the diſputed eſtimation, at 350,000, in 1784: the cenſus in 1790, proves to be 475,327. New Hampſhire, which is found to contain 141,885, was conſidered as having no more than 82,200. Maryland, which was eſtimated at 220,000, and which has not one county that does not lie on a navigable river, flowing into the Atlantic ocean, appears by the cenſus to have 319,728. Virginia, *incluſively* of Kentucky, was ſtated in the old return to have 400,000, and is found to contain 747,610, after the ſeparation of Kentucky, whoſe population is 73,677: and here it is to be remarked, that the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, though thickly ſettled, has manifeſtly gained people in the laſt nine years, more rapidly than Kentucky, ſuppoſing the latter to have had 10,000 inhabitants or upwards, in 1782; and the part of Virginia, not including Kentucky, has gained inhabitants much more rapidly than that weſtern diſtrict. Theſe two facts are mentioned to prove the error of lord Sheffield's prediction, that our population was not likely to increaſe, as it has done, "on the ſea coaſt." North Carolina, which was ſtated at only

200,000, is proved to contain 393,751, excluſively of the weſtern country ceded to congreſs by that ſtate in the laſt year, the population of which is found to be about 35,000 more. The population of Vermont is above 85,000: that of South Carolina, and the governments in the weſtern territory is not yet aſcertained.

The whole return above referred to, is alleged, by our author, to be too high. Its total is 2,389,300, and it was made the baſis of congreſſional aſſeſſments. The beſt accounts, as lord Sheffield affirms, made the number of whites 1,700,000. There ſeems, however, from the returns already received, to be no doubt, that our numbers will prove more than 3,900,000, by the cenſus taken from Auguſt, 1790, to April 1791, incluſive. The population of the united ſtates has therefore advanced 65 *per centum* on a return in 1782, which lord Sheffield affirmed, in 1784, to be *exaggerated*.

The ſimplicity of living amongſt *the great body* of the American people—the facility of obtaining the means of ſubſiſtence—migration to our country—and the non-exiſtence of emigrations from it, though Nova Scotia is ſo near, and, as lord Sheffield ſays, ſo tempting—theſe circumſtances have occaſioned the united ſtates thus rapidly to increaſe in population, in the laſt nine years, ſeven of which were extremely diſordered and diſcouraging. But now, when agriculture is improved, when laws, religion, morals, liberal and uſeful ſcience, arts, manufactures, and commerce, are maintained, promoted, and extended—lord Sheffield himſelf will believe, that our population will increaſe even on the ſea coaſt. Let foreigners, who ſincerely deſire information, take up the Philadelphia directory, publiſhed by the marſhal of the united ſtates for the diſtrict of Pennſylvania, and learn by this ſimple but authentic document, the ingredients of which our towns are compoſed, even in a ſtate whoſe territory is not one fourth ſettled. It will there be ſeen, that while our planters' and farmers' ſons are ſubdividing their lands, or moving forward into leſs populated ſcenes, many of the ſons of our artificers and manufacturers, and many perſons of thoſe occupations, from for

eign countries, are taking their ſtations on the vacant lots in our old ſtreets, or commencing new ones. *The ſober and induſtrious journeymen of Europe, who can ſcarcely ſupport the expenſes of living there, often become ſucceſsful maſter workmen here.* It may be ſafely affirmed, that the Scotch combine the advantages of ſobriety, induſtry, frugality, and ſkill, in as great a degree as any manufacturers in Europe; yet they inceſſantly emigrate to us, and are remarkably ſucceſsful in their various branches.

EMIGRATION.

GREAT pains are taken by the writer of the obſervations, to place the emigrants to America in the moſt diſcouraging circumſtances of diſtreſs and contempt. "Emigration," ſays he, "is the natural reſource of the culprit." Thoſe, who are acquainted with the hiſtory of Europe, ſince the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, and of the colonies ſettled from thence, know, that the emigrants hither have been, generally ſpeaking, *the enterpriſing*, and their followers, or *the oppreſſed ſubjects of unjuſt civil or religious rulers*—the latter in the greateſt degree. There is not a ſtate in the union which does not contain one or more ſects, which have fled from religious perſecution. Nothing can be more rational, than that perſons of *ſincere piety and tender conſciences*, ſhould ſeek a country, in which the aſſertion of *mere toleration* is deemed as abſurd, as the denial of *religious liberty* is thought to be criminal. Hence congregationaliſts, quakers, baptiſts, and others, have fled hither from England; ſeceders and epiſcopalians from Scotland; catholics from Ireland; hugonots from France; proteſtants from the dominions of the catholic princes of Germany; and catholics from thoſe of the proteſtant princes. Two centuries have not elapſed, ſince all the dominions of the united ſtates were an howling wilderneſs. They now contain near four millions of people. From whence have they been derived? In great numbers from Europe, by inceſſant ſtreams of emigration. But it may be aſked, are theſe people happy and proſperous? Does the ſoil they culti-

vate, yield them any return for their labour? They procure for themſelves comfortable habitations, food, raiment, and other conveniencies, and have exported in a ſingle year, above twenty millions of dollars in value! How then can theſe people have been "miſerably diſappointed in their expectations of proſperity here?"

But lord Sheffield aſſures all emigrants, that they will be diſtreſſed, nay, ruined, by taxes; and that our public burdens are heavier than thoſe of any country in Europe. It appears, however, that we are now in the middle of the third year of our general government, and notwithſtanding all our late arrearages, and the funding of our debts, neither a tax on lands, nor any ſpecies of direct tax, is contemplated. No exciſe upon any article of conſumption or uſe is laid or propoſed, except a very ſmall one on ſpiritous liquors, compared with thoſe in Europe. Beſides this, the impoſt or duty on foreign goods imported is the ſole revenue, that is raiſed upon the people, and it is, on a medium, leſs in *currency*, than the ſame articles pay in *ſterling*, in all the principal countries of Europe. Where, then, are theſe inſupportable burdens with which this writer attempts to alarm European emigrants?

Under the head of emigration, lord Sheffield has laid himſelf open to a more ſevere meaſure of juſt remark, than it is agreeable to deal out to him. It ought not, however, to be unnoticed, that he gravely brings forward a ſtory, on the pretended authority of a letter from Philadelphia, of "two fine Iriſh youths being purchaſed by a negro fruit ſeller, in that city, and employed in hawking fruit about the ſtreets, and in the meaneſt employments." How dangerous muſt be the ſituation of a government, which has acted upon the information and reaſonings brought forward by a mind capable of uſing ſuch means to carry his points, admitting the letter were genuine! How unlike a dignified ſtateſman does lord Sheffield appear, in exclaiming, after this contemptible ſtory, "*Iriſhmen juſt emancipated in Europe, go to America to become ſlaves to a negro!*" and what will be thought when it is known, that in the legiſlature of the very ſtate (Pennſylvania) in whoſe-

capital he alleges the fact took place, there were, about the time of his publication, no leſs than twenty-eight Iriſhmen and ſons of Iriſhmen, though the whole body conſiſted of but ſixty-nine members? We are willing that the fortunes of the Iriſh in this country ſhould determine the expediency of their continuing to emigrate hither. As ſome pains have been taken by him to excite the apprehenſions of the Germans alſo, it may not be improper to obſerve, that there have generally been from fifteen to eighteen members of the ſame legiſlative body, who were natives of Germany or their ſons.

Kentucky and the weſtern territory.

IT was boldly aſſerted by lord Sheffield, in 1784, that the people of the interior country of America, were "mere nominal ſubjects," and would ſpeedily imitate and multiply the examples of independence. The regular organization of the government of the territory north-weſt of the Ohio ſince that time, the arrangements made ſhortly after, for the erection of Kentucky into a ſeparate ſtate, with the conſent of congreſs and Virginia, the ceſſion of the extenſive country ſouth of the Ohio to congreſs in 1790, and its temporary eſtabliſhment as a kind of fief of the general government (with civil officers appointed by the preſident) to be admitted into the union as an entire new member, when its population ſhould be ſufficiently numerous, the adoption of the federal conſtitution by a deliberate act of a ſpecial convention of Vermont, and the formal admiſſions of that ſtate and Kentucky into the American union, at their own deſire, and by an act of the legiſlature of the united ſtates, have, as far as poſſible, contradicted the prophecy.

Another opinion, in regard to thoſe diſtant ſcenes, is, that they can derive no benefit from the American ſtates. At this moment, the arm of government is extended, and its funds are appropriated, to protect them againſt the hoſtilities of the Indians: and the whole regular military force, which it has been thought neceſſary to ſupport, was raiſed, and is now employed in their defence. The

Atlantic rivers, from the Miſſiſſippi to the Mohawk, which nature has formed as the channels of their trade, can be cleared of natural and political obſtructions only by the meaſures of the Atlantic ſtates; and no leſs than eight ſeveral plans to that end are now in preparation or execution in as many different places, under the auſpices of the five ſtates, within whoſe territories the moſt favourable rivers and grounds have been placed by nature. Congreſs alone can effect the relinquiſhment of the poſts, *the keys of the weſtern country*. The improvement and opening of the many neceſſary roads, leading weſtward, muſt be done by the acts of the Atlantic ſtates, and by their funds. Not a year elapſes without ſeveral appropriations of money to this object. *By a ſincere and cloſe union between the inhabitants of the weſtern country and thoſe upon the coaſts, both parties will avoid thoſe expenſive, bloody, and frequent ſtruggles, which every where diſgrace and injure adjacent ſtates.*

That no American articles are ſo neceſſary to Great Britain, as the Britiſh manufactures, &c. are to the Americans.

LORD Sheffield has already admitted, that raw materials are more precious to Britain than gold: but this was not conceded to America. Thoſe things, which are ineſtimable when they are to be drawn from countries other than the united ſtates, loſe all their value in his eſtimation, when to be derived from us. The Britiſh manufacturers well know, that American raw materials (like thoſe of Ruſſia, the Indies and Ireland) are precious, indeed, to them, becauſe, in addition to their natural value, and their indiſpenſible need of them, when once landed in Britain, they cannot be manufactured in America. Timber, plank, boards, maſts, tar, pitch, turpentine, and pig iron for the ſupport of their navy and ſhipping—indigo, potaſh, furs, ſkins, flaxſeed, iron, tobacco, ſtaves, fine oil, &c. for the employment of their manufacturers—rice, wheat, and flour for their ſubſiſtence—and a large catalogue of the moſt neceſſary

ſupplies for the Weſt India iſlands, which really cannot be obtained elſewhere, without an inſupportable addition to their coſt, will not be deemed at this time, by a rational and well informed man, of leſs importance to Great Britain, than the manufactures of that country, which they are aſſiduouſly endeavouring to diſperſe through every quarter of the world, are to us.

But it is not intended to waſte arguments on this allegation. Every man of information, in the affairs of the two countries, is able to decide on it at firſt view. Little more appears neceſſary than to remind the parties concerned, that ſuch an aſſertion is among the poſitions, which lord Sheffield has hazarded, in order that the miſleading tendency of his book may be duly borne in mind by the ſincere friends of mutually beneficial arrangements. It may not, however, be amiſs to obſerve, that although the favourable ideas that have been ſuggeſted by way of anſwer, were juſtified by facts and reaſon, when that work was publiſhed, yet the American ground is not a little meliorated by the ſubſequent progreſs and preſent ſtate of our manufactures—by the experienced inability of Canada, New Brunſwic, and Nova Scotia, to furniſh the promiſed ſupplies—by the conſequent importations from the united ſtates of timber and lumber into Great Britain, and of more than the former ſupplies into the Weſt Indies—and by the neceſſary dependence of Europe on the united ſtates for the precious articles of grain and flour, which has been recently aſcertained and admitted by unqueſtionable Engliſh authorities.

The quality of American diſtilled ſpirits.

IT is not ſurpriſing, that remarks on the bad quality of American ſpiritous liquors ſhould run through "the obſervations." But the buſineſs of diſtilling is ſo ſimple, that great improvements might have been expected ſince 1783. Geneva, in imitation of that of Holland, is now made in ſome of our ſea ports: the rectifying of the ordinary rums is practiſed by a few with great

ſucceſs. Peach brandy is made in conſiderable quantities, and, when matured, is the moſt exquiſite ſpirit in the world. Should our rice decline in price, it is not doubted, that the manufacture of arrack will be attempted. The ingredients from which this ſpirit is made, have till lately been unaſcertained in the united ſtates: but it is now believed, that rice, and coarſe ſugar, or melaſſes, are really the articles. When the ſucceſs of the Americans in the manufacture of malt liquors is remembered, it will not be doubted, that they will have equal ſucceſs in that of diſtilled ſpirits. A principal impediment has hitherto been the free and copious influx of rival foreign liquors, and the general reception of flour, *&c.* in foreign ports. Every obſtruction to our veſſels and ſales abroad, impoſed by the European nations, impels to breweries, diſtilleries, and manufactures in general, amongſt other modes of creating a demand for our grain, and employment for our capitals.

"*If the American ſtates ſhould attempt to pay their debts, the lands of the farmers muſt for ſome time lie under very heavy impoſitions.*"

THIS is among the many proofs, which our writer has given, that he did not poſſeſs the gift of prophecy. The American debt has been conſiderably reduced by the ſale of ſtate and federal lands, and a proviſion is made for funding it. A ſinking fund has alſo been provided. Yet *no* tax upon lands has been introduced among the ways and means. The whole American debt would not require a tax upon each individual, of four pounds ſterling, *to extinguiſh it forever*. That of Great Britain would require a tax of more than twenty-four pounds ten ſhillings ſterling. Our population is rapidly increaſing, while theirs is comparatively ſtationary. There is a like diſproportion in our favour in the ordinary and extraordinary expenſes of government and defence. The French debt is 250 per cent. heavier than ours, in proportion to numbers. *This brief, but very important article will not fail to receive due attention from*

thoſe who ſincerely deſire to make a juſt eſtimate of the affairs of the united ſtates; nor will it eſcape the obſervations of thoſe foreigners, who may be engaged in reſearches into our affairs, or in plans of emigration, ſettlement, and landed purchaſes in this country. It will alſo be a ſource of the moſt comfortable reflexions to our own citizens. The people of Europe, who have read lord Sheffield's book, will be ſurpriſed to hear that there are no perpetual revenues, no ſtamp duties, no window or hearth taxes, no tythes, no exciſes upon beer, hops, malt, ſoap, candles, coal or other fuel, or indeed on any other article in the united ſtates, excepting only about five pence ſterling on diſtilled ſpirits.

"That the Americans could not have traded with the French before the revolution to half the extent they did, had it not been for the ſpecie they took from the Britiſh iſlands."

This remark is applied by the writer to our French Weſt India trade. To judge of the truth of it, a compariſon of the preſent with the former ſtate of that branch of our commerce will be ſufficient. It will not be doubted, that during their troubles, and (to take a recent term) for a year preceding the firſt day of May laſt, our imports and exports from and to the French Weſt Indies, were greater than in any year before the war. Yet our veſſels could not procure ſpecie in the Britiſh iſlands, being prohibited from entering them. Pickled and dried fiſh, beef, rice, Indian corn, oats, beans, peas, onions, Indian meal, boards, plank, ſcantling, ſhingles, handſpikes, oars, ſquare timber, ſtaves, heading, hoops, horſes, live ſtock, poultry, boats, and veſſels, *&c.* to an amount greater than the ſhipments to all the Weſt India iſlands, other than Britiſh, before the war, have been exported to the French iſlands within the term of one year. The courſe of things, in ſeveral reſpects, will probably leſſen our importation of melaſſes and taffia, (or rum) which we have been accuſtomed to draw from thence. Beſides beer and cider, diſtilled ſpirits are now made from fruit and grain, in ſuch quan-

tities as to conſtitute more than one third of our conſumption and export of ſtrong liquors, other than wines. Plentiful harveſts of fruit neceſſarily increaſe the manufacture from that ingredient; becauſe it is too periſhable to export. Abundant harveſts of grain, or low markets abroad, have a ſimilar effect on diſtillation from that material. The meaſures of the national aſſembly of France, in regard to tobacco, will add to the many objections which before exiſted againſt the uſual cultivation of it. Barley, rye, and oats, from which the grain-liquors are principally made, as alſo wheat and Indian corn, will be produced in much larger quantities, ſhould we decline the cultivation of tobacco in any conſiderable degree. If we continue, after a ſhort time, to import choice rums, brandies, and arrack, to the amount of five per cent. on our whole conſumption, and manufacture the remainder, which will require four millions of buſhels of barley, rye, and oats, and more ſo far as we make beer, we ſhall want leſs funds abroad for the purchaſe of melaſſes, and we ſhall confirm the ability we have ſhown, to carry on a trade with the French iſlands, greater than formerly, *without ſpecie taken from the Britiſh Weſt Indies.*

"That the united ſtates loſt much by the ſeparation from Great Britain."

THIS is an opinion, which it was very natural for an Engliſh writer in 1783 to adopt. It was difficult at that time to compare, with the requiſite certainty and preciſion, the benefits in point of pecuniary advantage, which the united ſtates might have reaſonably expected in a colonial, and in an independent ſituation. It would be more eaſily and better done at the preſent, but cannot be attempted at large in this place. Some ideas on the ſubject, however, may ſerve to evince the error of the aſſertion.

It is true, that by the ſeparation of the two countries, the united ſtates incurred a debt of about £.15,000,000 ſterling, which, however, was entirely ſpent in the country, as was a great part of the French and Britiſh ex-

penditures. Great Britain increaſed her public debt, in the ſame time, 115,000,000l. The whole expenſe to both ſides appears then to be about £.130,000,000 ſterling. There is the ſtrongeſt probability, from the rapidity of the increaſe of the Britiſh debt, which, in leſs than a century, grew up from *nothing* to £.270,000,000 and which is in the preſent year ſwelling to a larger ſize, that, without the American war, the Britiſh nation would have been burdened on this day with at leaſt two hundred millions. Conſidering the rate in which the objects of taxation or means of revenue have increaſed in this country, there is reaſon to believe, that by this time we ſhould have been thought able to endure a proportion of the ways and means requiſite to ſupport that debt, equal to our numbers; this would have been above one fourth of the whole, or *fifty millions ſterling*, and is three and one third times our preſent debt. It may be ſaid, we paid no ſuch contribution; and the aſſertion, by reference to the former public accounts, would appear on paper to be true: but we were injuriouſly reſtrained, in regard to the ſources of our ſupplies, and the vents of our produce and manufactures; we were prohibited from the labour-ſaving modes of manufacturing; and it is too plain the prohibitions would have been continued. The impoſt went into the Britiſh treaſury; our lands were ſubject to quit-rents, which, belonging to the crown, have either fallen to the preſent government, or have been entirely aboliſhed. The effects of the commercial monopoly were prodigious. It may be ſtrikingly exemplified in the ſingle article of tea. We have already ſeen, that we imported above three millions of pounds in the year following Auguſt 1789. The medium price of fine and coarſe teas was above one third of a dollar more favourable to us in 1790, than in 1774; by which a difference of a million of dollars, and the whole impoſt on the article, are ſaved to the country.

The facility of naturalization under our preſent laws, is very much in favour of the introduction of people, and of arts, manufactures, and capital from foreign countries. Lands may be held in almoſt every ſtate, and

his occupation or trade may be purſued, immediately on the arrival of an emigrant. A term much ſhorter than that preſcribed by the Britiſh ſtatute before the revolution, entitles him to all the benefits of citizenſhip. It is impoſſible to eſtimate the value of this circumſtance to a country ſo well calculated to induce emigration, to ſupport an increaſed population, and to employ capital and artificers, as the united ſtates.

Lord Sheffield obſerves, that the Britiſh eſtabliſhment in this country gave it an advantage of £.370,000 ſterling per annum. He ſhould not have omitted to mention, that great part of this ſum was expended on the Floridas, Canada, and Nova Scotia: and it is to be obſerved, that many of the articles were imported, and not of our production or manufacture. The mere conſumption of Britiſh and Iriſh goods by the Britiſh and Iriſh officers, ſoldiers, and ſailors, ſtationed or employed here, could not benefit the people of America. It is paſt a doubt, that the ſales of the lands alone, which have fallen to the ſtates and to the general government, have yielded annually a larger ſum by the purchaſes of citizens and foreigners. The cuſtoms and quit-rents muſt alſo have been a full reimburſement. But it is unneceſſary to dwell longer on this article; for whatever may have been the former opinions of many in the two countries concerning it, the ſubject is at this time ſo illumined, and prejudice and miſconception are ſo completely done away, that no perſons of judgment and information now believe, "*the united ſtates have loſt by the ſeparation from Great Britain.*" It is, however, true that the American ſtates were in a train of proſperity before the revolution, which promiſed greater wealth and happineſs than appeared to await the people of any other country. Lord Sheffield might reaſonably eſtimate their proſpects very highly. To inſure the expected proſperity, however, it was deemed theoretically right, that the provincial parliaments (the executive head of the empire by himſelf or a repreſentative and the legiſlative houſes of each) ſhould enact *all* laws. Though ſome conceſſions to what

was conſidered as "*the neceſſity of the caſe*," were frankly made, limiting the practical extenſion of this ſound theory, yet it is plain, that unleſs it could have been ſubſtantially adhered to, in the adminiſtration of the American governments, no reliance could have been placed on the continuance of that degree of proſperity, which exiſted, nor on the attainment of that height, which circumſtances otherwiſe promiſed. The wonderful advancement of Great Britain in almoſt every particular, except her public debt, during the preſent century, and the comparatively ſmall progreſs of Ireland in the ſame term, afford a ſtriking example of what might have happened to this country, and furniſh the beſt reaſons to believe, that the united ſtates (as to mere emolument) have gained prodigiouſly by commuting for the great influence and undefined power of two legiſlative bodies, *actually* rival and *eſſentially* foreign, the advantages of governing themſelves in all reſpects, according to the prudent dictates of their own intereſts. As to the more important article, of *a genuine free conſtitution*, unexaggerated by political enthuſiaſm, and unvitiated by any alloying ingredients, America may with modeſty affirm, that ſhe is nearer to that *primary object of human deſire*, than ſhe would have been in the poſſeſſion of the moſt favourable ground, which her beſt friends in Britain ever propoſed for her before the ſeparation.

SIXTH NUMBER.

IT was intimated, in a preceding part of theſe papers, that the united ſtates have not ſuſtained any loſs in the important article of ſhip-building, which it is propoſed now to ſhow, in treating of

Ships built for ordinary commerce, and for ſale.

THIS branch was of conſiderable value to the united ſtates before the revolution. Its importance appears greater now, whether it be viewed with regard to the increaſed quantity (for there appears good reaſon to think it conſiderably increaſed) or with reſpect to the enhanced value of merchant ſhips to an independent and maritime country. The quantity built in theſe ſtates, on the average of 1769, 1770, and 1771, which are the lateſt years in lord Sheffield's tables, was 21,726 tons. An account equally minute, for any recent term, has not been obtained; but it is known, that in fifty-three cuſtom houſe diſtricts (and there are fifteen more,) 29,606 tons of ſhipping were built between the fourth day of March 1790, and the fourth day of March 1791. This is be-

lieved to be, in many inſtances, the tonnage paid for to the carpenters; and, in thoſe caſes, is leſs than the veſſels really meaſure; as they are a body of workmen, who generally deal liberally. The remaining fifteen diſtricts will not be found to have built in proportion to the fifty-three, whoſe preſent building is ſtated: but the quantity already known, is conſiderably beyond the medium of lord Sheffield's tables, for 1769 to 1771, above mentioned. In the caſe of New York, the whole is known, and is two hundred and thirty-eight tons more than the former tables. In New Jerſey, the building in ſome diſtricts is unknown, and the difference is two hundred and eighty-eight tons in favour of the late return. In Connecticut, the whole of the building is ſtated, and it is five hundred and thirty-four tons in favour of the latter term. In Pennſylvania and Delaware, the whole is alſo known: and the late return exceeds the former by 3,900 tons. In North Carolina, a return of three diſtricts (out of five) only is obtained; and it exceeds the former average by nine hundred and twenty-five tons. In the ſtate of Rhode Iſland, the whole is aſcertained, and it exceeds the former average by about one hundred tons. The port of Baltimore alone, in Maryland, exceeds all the ſhipbuilding of that ſtate, in the greateſt of the three years, by near one hundred per cent. The veſſels built in Connecticut, in the returned year, are forty per cent. more than the medium of lord Sheffield's tables; and Maſſachuſetts exceeds the former medium by 3,713 tons.

It is true, however, that this buſineſs in one of the principal building ſtates, has fallen off; but there many of the veſſels, intended for ſale, were uſually built; and it is admitted by lord Sheffield, that thoſe were our worſt veſſels. It is material to the united ſtates, and entitles us to a larger credit in an accurate eſtimation of things, that much more of our military ſtores, cordage, twine, nails, and ſpikes, ſail cloth, plumbers' work, reſin, ſpirits of turpentine, linſeed oil, paints, braſs and copper work, and other leſs important articles expended in building and arming ſhips, are of the produce and manu-

facture of the country, than was the caſe in 1771. It is alſo an important truth, that much greater numbers of foreign veſſels are repaired, altered, ſupplied with cordage and ſail cloth, painted and otherwiſe wrought upon by our various workmen, the money for which, may be fairly carried to the account of this branch.

At the time when lord Sheffield wrote, it was not known how much the oak of Great Britain had decreaſed. We have already noticed this point; and it may be further remarked, that it cannot but decreaſe yet more, as the ſupplies of *oak* from the Baltic, are often intercepted by the competition of Pruſſia, Sweden, Denmark, Ruſſia, Portugal, Holland, Spain and France, all but the firſt of which vigorouſly maintain their naval power; and Pruſſia has become very conſiderable in private ſhips. Lord Sheffield thinks that the cheapneſs of American ſhipping aroſe from their being ill-found and deficient in iron. There is little doubt that the extreme cheapneſs of thoſe built for ſale, was occaſioned partly by the cauſe he mentions: but the beſt double-decked or galley-built ſhips, with live-oak lower timbers, and red-cedar top-timbers, with white-oak plank on their bottoms, and either that timber or the yellow pine for their ſides, can be built and fitted for taking in a cargo, at thirty-four dollars, or £.7 13s. ſterling per ton; and as good a veſſel cannot be procured in Great Britain, France or Holland, under fifty-five to ſixty dollars*.

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* The papers of the Britiſh ſociety for naval architecture admit, that ſhips fit for the Eaſt India ſervice are advanced in their coſt, ſince 1771, forty ſhillings ſterling, nearly equal to nine dollars, per ton; that timber is conſiderably diminiſhed in quantity, and enhanced in value, in the laſt twenty years—that the body of working ſhipwrights, in 1789, were much inferior to thoſe of twenty years back; and that the late acts of parliament reſpecting regiſters of ſhips and other regulations intended to increaſe Britiſh ſhipbuilding, had not operated in their favour. Profitable employment for *very expenſive and numerous* ſhips cannot be created and extended by a mere legiſlative *fiat*.

As the building of coaſting and fiſhing veſſels, boats in new forms for our improving inland navigation, veſſels on various conſtructions for public ſervice, and for a very diverſified foreign trade, will not only keep the art of ſhipbuilding at its preſent height, but will advance it in all reſpects, it appears to be very doubtful, whether we ſhould anxiouſly deſire to ſupply foreigners with ſuch cheap means of rivalling us in the carrying trade and fiſheries. Our ſhip and boat yards are not confined to a ſpot, but indeed are more diffuſed than formerly. There is no ſtate whoſe citizens do not purſue the buſineſs, and it is commenced upon the weſtern waters. Before the revolution, above half our veſſels were paid for by a barter of credit goods for the labour and ſkill of the artificer; inſtead of which he now more frequently receives weekly payments in ſolid coin.

"That the imports and exports of the united ſtates will continue for a long time the ſame."

THIS will be found on examination very erroneous. Pot and pearl aſhes are ſhipped in an increaſed ratio of nineteen to four. The American merchants were once great exporters of iron, hemp, raw hides, and other articles, which they now import in large quantities. The importations of coarſe linens, paper, hats, ſhoes, ſteel, nails, carriages, malt liquors and many other articles are conſiderably reduced. Should impediments be thrown in the way of our fiſheries, ſhipping and foreign commerce, policy, intereſt and feeling will prompt us to purſue with deciſion and ardour the object of *manufactures*, which will give employment to our own capital, and that, which we may derive from foreigners. It muſt be manifeſt, for example, that if we are to receive rum in foreign bottoms, and to be refuſed the tranſportation of the flour and grain, which are wanted in return, we ſhall not long continue to uſe foreign ſpirits. Our brewers already ſupply us with more beer than we conſume. No more than 70,000 gallons and 17,500 dozen bottles have been imported in an entire year, ending in Auguſt 1790, three

times which quantity is made with eaſe, by a ſingle brewery, on a very moderate ſcale. This branch has increaſed and flouriſhed in the laſt two years, and an exportation, greater than the importation above ſtated, has certainly taken place. The home-made diſtilled ſpirits are already more than twice as great in quantity, as the ſpirits imported. If our tobacco ſhips are excluded from France, they will not bring us brandies; and the grain, that will be raiſed on our tobacco lands, will yield ſpiritous and malt liquors to enable us to relinquiſh foreign brandy. Should a conſiderable part of our capital be forced out of navigation and foreign trade, the government, without impoſing *generally* heavy protecting duties, burdenſome to the nation, may give employment for the money, by holding out effectual encouragement to *one branch of manufactures at a time*. If it be ſelected with judgment—if the uſe of manual labour be confined within as narrow limits as poſſible—if labour-ſaving machines be uſed—if the articles it works on, be made free of duty—if the growth of them be encouraged at home—if a convenient progreſſive duty be impoſed, there can be little doubt of ſucceſs. The example of a well-arranged and fortunate attempt once ſet, others will naturally follow; and nations, whoſe politicians now grudgingly perceive them take from us the food they are unable to raiſe, and who treat as a favour the reception of our precious raw materials, may diſcover, when it will be too late, the evils induced by an over-driven ſpirit of monopoly*.

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* After a very careful eſtimate of a number of the principal branches of American manufacture, the writer of this paper does not heſitate to affirm, that the ſhoes and boots, ſadlery and other articles of leather, gunpowder, ſnuff, paper and paper hangings, playing cards, paſteboard, books, linen, cotton, and woolen cloths, hoſiery, thread, hats, wool and cotton cards, jewellery and watches, manufactures of gold, ſilver, iron, ſteel, braſs, lead, pewter, and copper, cordage, twine, ſail cloth, carriages of all kinds, malt liquors, new ſhips and boats, leathern gloves and breeches, parchment, glue, cabinet wares, linſeed oil, ſoap, candles, potaſh, diſtil-

The capacity of the united ſtates to ſupply Europe with grain and flour.

A recent publication of lord Sheffield's, upon the ſubject of the Britiſh corn trade, has lately appeared in this country. As in "the obſervations on our commerce," ſo in this pamphlet, he endeavours to ſhow fallacy in all ſuch ideas as favour the importance of the united ſtates to Great Britain. As this examination has been neceſſarily made with little adherence to form or order, and as the *production and commerce of grain*, conſtitute, without any exception, the moſt valuable and moſt commanding of our advantages, it will not be improper, to take ſome notice of this new attempt of his lordſhip's, to diſſeminate erroneous information and opinions on American affairs.

According to the lateſt of his tables, the American *provinces*, in 1770, exported but 46,000 tons of bread, flour, and meal, 578,349 buſhels of Indian corn, 24,859 buſhels of oats, and 851,240 buſhels of wheat: and he deſires it to be believed, that the united ſtates will not be able, in this particular, to exceed their exportations before the revolution. The return of exports*, ſo often mentioned, contains the following articles---

724,623	barrels of	flour,	}
75,667	do.	of bread,	}--weighing 77,000 tons.
99,975	do.	of meal,	}

led ſpirits, drugs and chemical preparations, and earthen ware, made in the year laſt paſt, exceed in value the manufactured goods, which Great Britain ſhipt, in the ſame term, to all foreign nations, but the united ſtates. It will be proper to obſerve in this place, that chocolate, cheeſe, wafers, ſtarch, hair powder, ivory and horn wares, whips, millenary, ſtays, windſor chairs, corn fans, wheelbarrows, ſpirits of turpentine, paints, bruſhes, glaſs wares, bricks, ſtone and marble wares, *repairs* of veſſels, muſtard, loaf ſugar, ſalt, the great article of *making up* apparel, coopers' wares, and other things of the nature of manufactures, were not included in the eſtimate above mentioned.

* See appendix, paper B.

1,124,458 buſhels of wheat,
21,765 do. of rye, - - - (of which article none was exported in 1770.)
2,102,137 do. of Indian corn.
98,842 do. of oats,
7,562 do. of buckwheat, (of which alſo none was exported in 1770.)
38,752 do. of peas and beans, (of which alſo none was exported in 1770.)

It appears, then, that on comparing the acknowledged exports of bread and flour, in 1770, with thoſe of the preſent time, a difference of 50 per cent. is ſhown in favour of our agriculture, and that we ſhip near four times the quantity of Indian corn, and one-third more of wheat, beſides the new articles of beans, peas, buckwheat and rye. The tobacco, exported in the above term, was at the rate of 36 per cent. per annum more than before the revolution, beſides the difference in the quantity now manufactured. Many circumſtances are combining to turn the attention of the planters of this article in the grain ſtates, towards wheat, barley, oats, and Indian corn. This is not a new idea in American farming; for although wheat was much lower before the revolution than it now is, the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland, was actually declining. The more ſouthern ſtates had not then attempted the production of this article to any conſiderable extent. The lands, which produced the above extra quantity of tobacco, would have yielded 800,000 buſhels of wheat; the labour would have produced more; and ſuppoſing that half the ſoil and induſtry, which were applied to tobacco in 1789, ſhould be appropriated to grain, an addition of 1,400,000 buſhels might be made to our productions of that article. To ſupply the tobacco, ſome of the rich lands of the more ſouthern ſtates might be employed in its cultivation. But lord Sheffield tells the people of Britain with great gravity, that *only* the weſtern parts of Connecticut, and the ſtates of New York, New Jerſey, Delaware, Pennſylvania Maryland, and Virginia, are capable of yielding wheat. He ſhould have added, that thoſe ſtates con-

tain twice as much land as the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, thoſe iſlands being computed at leſs than 100,000 ſquare miles by their own geographers. The ſtates of New Jerſey, Delaware, and Maryland, together with three-fifths of Pennſylvania, three-fifths of New York, and about one-half of Virginia, all which lie ſufficiently near to *naturally* navigable water, to raiſe grain for exportation, contain above 130,000 ſquare miles. Kentucky, North Carolina, and the weſtern parts of South Carolina and Georgia, and Vermont, will alſo add conſiderably to our exports of grain, when mills, canals, &c. ſhall encourage the growth and facilitate the tranſportation. But the ſtate of population is the point to which candour and judgment ought to have led a political economiſt to advert. He ſhould have reflected, that the united ſtates, whoſe territory is about a million of ſquare miles, are not yet cultivated and inhabited, by more than 4,000,000 people*; that Great Britain and Ireland, with about a tenth of the land (or 100,000 ſquare miles) have twice the agricultural population; and that the productive powers of this country, (which appears to have doubled its people in 25 years, though injured by eight years of a deſtructive war,) are *a mean of human ſuſtenance*, to which the more prudent nations of Europe will, and to which all, in the time of need, muſt have recourſe. If their governments prevent it, many of their manufacturers at leaſt muſt flee from them. The ſupreme law of neceſſity will have its due operation, and people, whoſe means are rendered, by injudicious regulations, unequal to their wants, will certainly reſort to thoſe ſcenes where cheaper food and better wages inſure them relief.

It is manifeſt that the great increaſe of our population has been attended with a very conſiderable addition to our exports of eatables. The ſtatement made in the beginning of the obſervations, on this article, is a proof of

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* The actual number of the inhabitants of the united ſtates appears to be from 3,900,000 to 4,000,000. See appendix, paper A.

ſt. Beſides this, our ſhipments of beef and pork, are above two and a half times greater than in 1770, of butter four times, of cheeſe two and a half times, of potatoes four times, and of rice nearly as great. Add to this, that we have almoſt put an end to the importation of malt liquors, (a manufacture from grain,) and that we ſhip as much of them as we import---that we have diminiſhed our importation of diſtilled ſpirits, by a million of gallons, ſince we loſt the importation of Britiſh rum in our own veſſels (though our population is more numerous by a million and an half of perſons) which has occaſioned the diſtillation of grain liquors to the amount probably of 4,000,000 gallons, requiring 2,000,000 buſhels of grain.

Our continuing to export ſo large quantities of grain and flour, notwithſtanding this great conſumption of rye, barley, oats, and even wheat in diſtilling and brewing, is a ſtrong proof of our raiſing much more than in former times. But it is not to be forgotten, that conſiderable quantities are conſumed by our *manufacturers*, who are rapidly increaſing. It is extremely difficult to aſcertain the proportion in which theſe valuable citizens contribute to the population of our towns. Their numbers in the city of Philadelphia may help to furniſh ſome ground for a reaſonable eſtimate. The ſilverſmiths, brewers, diſtillers, ſhip-carpenters, cabinet-makers, cordwainers, tallow-chandlers, ſoap-boilers, white and blackſmiths, ſteel-makers, turners, braziers, coachmakers, copperſmiths, hatters, tailors, weavers, dyers, leather breeches makers, glovers, and ſuch other perſons as may be properly claſſed under the head of *manufacturers* (excluſively of houſe carpenters, maſons, painters, victuallers, bakers, barbers, and others, who cannot be correctly denominated ſo) appear to be about 2,200 perſons. The city and ſuburbs being found to contain near 43,000 men, women, and children, and it being generally ſuppoſed, that the adult males are about one-fifth of the whole number, it would appear, that of the 8,600 adult males, contained in Philadelphia, above one-fourth are manufacturers, and conſequently, that of the eatables, and

home-made drinkables, consumed in that town, above one-fourth are required for their use and that of their wives, children, journeymen, apprentices, and servants: an addition for the grain consumed by their horses and cows may be fairly made. This state of things, it is believed, is exceeded by many of the towns in the eastern states, and in some interior situations, where it is manifest that fewer are employed in the learned professions, and foreign commerce, and not so many live upon their incomes.

It will not be pretended, that the united states are able to feed all the nations of Europe, nor that they afford any promise of so extensive a capacity in future. Neither are such ideas conveyed by the representation of the committee of the British privy council, on which lord Sheffield so vehemently animadverts. They represent, as the result of a careful and deliberate enquiry, their conviction, that the countries of Europe, taken collectively, do not produce, in ordinary years, an aggregate quantity of grain, larger than what appears requisite for the consumption of their inhabitants: and they proceed to observe, that in the event of a failure of crops, a supply can only be had from America. The reasonable meaning of their representation is, that as Europe is an extensive and populous region, making great, constant, and inevitable demands for food, producing in ordinary seasons, that is, usually, *a mere competent supply*, but *no excess*, and is liable to *partial* and even *general failures* of crops, it must, in the event of one of those *partial* or general misfortunes, look to some other quarter of the world for relief. With the exception of Barbary, whose capacity to supply appears to be much more limited than ours, no other country than America could present itself to the committee. Great allowances should have been made for those gentlemen, by lord Sheffield, admitting for a moment they were wrong, as it appears probable they may have been misled by several parts of his treatise on our commerce, which really tend to confirm their doctrine. In that publication, under the head of *wheat and flour*, he observes, " that Canada, Nova Scotia, and

the American ſtates are likely to have moſt of the corn trade which England had." Our ſupplies *to* Nova Scotia have been ſtated; and *as they are admitted from us only when neceſſity requires them,* the exiſting licenſe of the governor of that province to introduce American flour, grain, and live ſtock *through the whole of the ſummer* (and indeed from May to November) when *the navigation of Canada is open,* will anſwer our enquiries about the capacity of thoſe provinces to take away the corn trade from England. Under the ſame head, and on the following page, he further ſays, "the American ſtates were *more than competitors* with us for the wheat trade; they had for ſome years engroſſed *nearly the whole* of what we had; and it is computed, upon an average of five years, they had received from Spain and Portugal upwards of £.320,000 *ſterling,* per annum, for that grain." It will ſurely be deemed very reaſonable in the committee to ſuppoſe, that the united ſtates, which were ſtated to have ſupplied the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, for five ſucceſſive years, with *wheat alone* to the amouut of £.320,000 ſterling, could have furniſhed to Great Britain the leſs ſum of £.291,000 ſterling, in all kinds of grain and flour, which they have paid to foreign nations for twenty years paſt. Under the head of "ſhips built for ſale," lord Sheffield again confirms the ideas of the committee, by ſaying, in very handſome and forcible language, "America had *robbed* us, at leaſt for a time, of a corn trade, that ſome time ago brought in to us as much as almoſt any article of export." As his lordſhip conſiders an honeſt competition of *fellow citizens* in the light of *robbery,* the accuracy of his other conceptions, will, no doubt, be duly examined.

Lord Sheffield leads to a material error, affecting the juſt eſtimation of our corn trade, when he ſtates tobacco to be the principal article of American commerce. It appears, by the return of the treaſury, that *flour* is the moſt valuable and (excluſively of the connected articles of bread, wheat and other grain) it exceeded tobacco by a quarter of a million of dollars. Wheat (including the commodities made of it) is one-third more valuable

than tobacco; and as this laſt production appears to have been advanced in quantity, 36 per cent. on a compariſon with the exportation of the year 1770, when lord Sheffield ſtates it to have been our firſt, the increaſed importance of wheat is manifeſted.

If we turn our eyes from Great Britain to other countries, the American grain trade does not appear to be leſs intereſting to Europe and her colonies. Spain, Portugal, the wine iſlands, the Bahamas, Bermuda, the ſugar colonies, the northern Britiſh colonies, and the foreign fiſheries, regularly demand from us ſome of the various articles, which it comprehends. The cultivation of the vine, the advancement of their colonies, the extenſion of commerce, and the increaſe of the manufactures of France, which two laſt are to be expected in conſequence of the revolution in that kingdom, render it highly probable they will not be able to do without ſupplies from other countries. It is the opinion of their beſt writers, that they do not ordinarily export more than one-fifteenth of their crop. Should any accident—(the introduction of Britiſh and Dutch manufacturers, who are accuſtomed to beer, for example)—lead them into breweries, than which nothing is more poſſible, that ſmall proportion of ſurplus would be quickly engroſſed. There is an idea, on this point, which has been recently ſtarted, and which may attract the attention of their practical politicians: the opinion referred to is, that every country which manufactures largely, is in a ſituation of conſiderably leſs danger, if its people ordinarily uſe drinks made from grain; becauſe the dreadful conſequences of famine may be avoided with certainty and eaſe, by converting to the uſe of food, the grain which will be regularly procured from agriculture or importation, to ſupply the demands of the brewers and diſtillers. The Dutch have been always unable to raiſe more than a ſmall proportion of their food; and the modern eſtimates of their population countenance the preſumption of a large increaſe. They are, moreover, great brewers and diſtillers from grain: and their ſugar colonies, on the ſouthern main, have wonderfully advanced. Theſe ſymptoms of new demand, on the part

of the European nations, together with the certain requiſitions of grain ariſing from the univerſal increaſe of manufactures and attention to foreign trade, are accompanied by ſome important circumſtances, that prevent a proportionate production of that indiſpenſible neceſſary. The growth of private wealth in many parts of Europe, particularly in Britain, the conſequent increaſe of horſes for equipages and other purpoſes of pleaſure, the laying out of park grounds, and the diverſion of lands from the leſs profitable production of grain to that of graſs, the declenſion of agriculture in Poland, by reaſon of the extreme badneſs of their internal arrangements, the probable increaſe of Poliſh manufactures, ſhould they become free, the continual efforts of the European manufacturers to draw away the labourers of the farmers, the greater prevalence of emigration to their colonies and other countries among the cultivators, than among the manufacturers, owing to the wretched ſituation of the agricultural poor in countries, where the high value of land renders it in effect a monopoly, and the preſent univerſal attention to political reformation, which for a time interrupts agriculture, are among the cauſes here contemplated.

But it is not unfair to aſk, from what ſource are the maritime countries of Europe to be ſupplied, in the event of a failure of the crops of *one* or *more* of them, in ſo great a degree as from the united ſtates? The value of grain, flour, meal, and bread, from the united ſtates greatly exceeds that of the ſame articles from the kingdom of Naples and its connected iſland of Sicily, which have been conſidered as the granary of the Mediterranean. Poland, once termed the granary of Europe, is leſs extenſive (including Lithuania) than the country of the united ſtates, which furniſhes grain for Europe. Its exports are not aſcertained: but there appear ſtrong preſumptions, that it does not ſhip through Dantzic and Elbing, half as great a value of grain, and the articles made of grain, as the united ſtates. Britain, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and lately Flanders, are obliged to import. Ruſſia is ſaid to have ſhipt in 1787, wheat and rye to the

amount of near 1,000,000 of buſhels, but imports grain liquors; and manufactures are growing, and wars are frequent in that kingdom. Sweden imports very large quantities of rye, and ſhips no grain. That article is much the firſt among the imports of Denmark and Norway. Pruſſia produces much corn, and exports ſome: but manufactures are greatly advanced in that kingdom; and the home conſumption of grain will probably equal the production, in a few years. In ſhort, a careful and impartial ſurvey of Europe, will confirm the opinion of the committee of the privy council, that the productions of grain in that quarter of the world, are not, generally ſpeaking, more than equal to the conſumption of its inhabitants. A moment's recollection will remind us, that even thoſe countries which do not commonly import grain, are, upon the occurrence of ſmall diſappointments, obliged to ſeek it from America, and other foreign ſtates; that ſome parts of Europe conſtantly import from us in large quantities; that all of them ſteadily, or occaſionally, directly, or indirectly, ſupply their colonies from hence; that ſince the manufactnres of Great Britain have been ſo far extended, as to employ ſix elevenths of her people, and ſince the extenſion of her manufacture of grain liquors in particular, her dependence for a portion of her bread upon foreign nations, is proved to be unavoidable, by the moſt ſettled maxims of her own political economiſts; that her real deficiency is *the irremovable want* of the requiſite proportion of agriculturiſts; and finally, that even in the preſent ſtate of our population, the united ſtates actually contribute much more to the ſupply of the nations of Europe and their colonies, with grain, bread, and flour, than any two, perhaps any three countries in the world; and that their capacity to enlarge that ſupply, is ſteadily and rapidly increaſing.

This ſubject has been dwelt upon the longer from its high importance to the united ſtates, and to the general happineſs of mankind, and from the new proofs which lord Sheffield has given, of a particular indiſpoſition, that Britain ſhould rely on the united ſtates, even in the ſmalleſt degree, though we give a greater ſupport to her

manufacturers and ſhipping than any two other foreign nations. It is feared, that nothing beneficial can be expected between the countries, if the errors and prejudices of ſo profeſſed a champion againſt us, have not a very cautious hearing. It will not be deemed unreaſonable or improper, to conſider in that light a writer, who, in his firſt book, labours to ſhow, that the production and commerce of grain are bad objects of attention to the American ſtates, becauſe (as he pronounces) Europe ſeldom wants it; and who, in his ſecond book, takes equal pains to prove, that America cannot raiſe grain for the wants even of Great Britain itſelf, when he finds it eſtabliſhed on high Britiſh authority, that their own kingdom and thoſe of other nations in Europe, can only look to America for the deficiency of ſupply, which the increaſe of manufactures, of people, of graſs and paſturage, of grain liquors, and the uncertainty of ſeaſons, in one or another of them, is conſtantly producing. He will prove a bad politician, and a very bad Britiſh patriot, who ſhall animate againſt the manufactures of Great Britain, *the body of American planters and farmers*, by promoting a ſevere ſyſtem, which ſhall debar them of a chance of making returns for an immenſe demand of Britiſh fabrics, in the unmanufactured productions of their ſoil and labour. But independent of the danger to Britain, from liſtening at this time, to ſo profeſſed an anti-American, a wiſe nation will not give too much attention to a writer, whoſe ardent ſpirit of monopoly leads him to attempt to circumvent the ſame foreign nation, in her purſuits of commerce—of manufactures—and even of her great, beſt buſineſs, the tillage of a various and productive ſoil. If the policy of England ought to be a dereliction of ſome parts of her ſyſtem of internal or external commerce in favour of agriculture, let her politicians firmly maintain the doctrine. America will approve their patriotiſm. But in doing this, it ſurely is not neceſſary to depreciate the largeſt purchaſers of thoſe manufactures, on which the exiſtence of more than half their people depends. It may be well to reflect too that the induſtry and ſoil, which foreign corn laws may tend to deprive of their accuſtom-

ed object, can be applied to the production of hemp, flax, wool, cotton, leather, and iron, or their preparation in the form of fabrics to ſubſtitute for theirs. It is happy for the united ſtates, that whenever they are injured in the loſs of a vent for any portion of a particular production, they can create a market for it by checking the introduction of ſome connected foreign commodity, and making a ſuccedaneum for it at home.

Though it would not be difficult, in purſuing the examination of lord Sheffield's obſervations, to adduce many more proofs, that his facts are often erroneous, and his obſervations frequently unjuſt; and that his predictions have not been verified, but often contradicted by experience, the ſubject will not be further purſued. It is confided, that enough has been ſaid, to induce an attentive reviſion of his book. This, it is believed, will be ſufficient to lead the Britiſh nation to look in future to other ſources of information. It may be obſerved, in extenuation of his lordſhip's errors, that the circumſtances of the united ſtates are conſiderably altered ſince he wrote: but this will not juſtify the confidence of his *predictions*, nor apologize for the wild errors of them; and it may not improperly be again remarked to thoſe, who are convinced of this great and happy change in our ſituation, ſince the year 1784, that a conduct on the part of foreigners, which might have been deemed prudent when our political horizon was darkly clouded, would be unwiſe now, and might be dangerous to ſome of their intereſts hereafter. Of this lord Sheffield's late book proves him to be not duly ſenſible.

The united ſtates have many features of natural ſtrength, and many advantages from their local poſition. The friends of other forms of government will admit, that they have exhibited a highly improved example of a republic, and that they have practiſed upon the plan, ſince it was formed, though not a very long time, with extraordinary ſucceſs. They have no occaſion to make

war for territory; and they are conſiderably removed from the danger of foreign enterpriſes againſt them. Their productions are remarkably diverſified, and conſequently adapted to various purpoſes and uſes, and are, with a few exceptions, either neceſſaries of life, or articles of ſuch general demand and conſumption, as to be nearly as much ſought. Having been recently a part of an intelligent and enterpriſing commercial nation, and having a very extenſive ſea coaſt, the citizens of America have been inſenſibly led to ſurvey all the regions of foreign commerce, and in paſſing through moſt of them, have manifeſted, ſince the reformation of their political ſyſtem, every talent requiſite for the honourable and lucrative purſuit of trade. The redundant ſtate of private wealth in ſeveral foreign nations, promiſes every addition to our active capital, that occaſion can require, if we preſerve *the honeſt ſpirit* with which the reforms of the general and ſtate governments have been lately made, and the wiſdom with which they have been adminiſtered. The fulneſs of the European population, and the degree in which every walk, commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural, is crouded there, afford reaſon to expect the ſteady increaſe of our people. Civil and religious liberty, now ſettled on rational and tried principles, certify an exemption from all real oppreſſion.

Being diſpoſed to promote the freedom of commerce, the united ſtates would probably have made no regulations, but with a view to revenue, had they not met in almoſt every country, duties and reſtrictions in their home trade, and charges, prohibitions, and excluſions, in their colonial trade. But although ſome nations will not permit us to ſhip them certain of our articles, others withhold from us certain of theirs, and others impede, abſolutely or in effect, the introduction of our own goods in our own bottoms, yet we have hitherto contented ourſelves with a ſmall addition to the rates of our tariff, and to the tonnage on ſhips, both together not exceeding £.87,000 ſterling, *on all foreign nations taken together.* It will not be alleged, that this ſum will bear a ſerious compariſon with the injuries our agricul-

ture, manufactures, and commerce ſuſtain from ſeveral of the principal European powers.

To obtain relief by arrangements as beneficial to foreign ſtates as to ourſelves, will probably be the liberal aim of our government. It is confidently expected, that mutual benefits will create and cement a ſtrong and laſting friendſhip in the caſe of thoſe nations with which ſuch arrangements ſhall be formed; and with regard to others, the wiſdom of the legiſlature, no doubt, will be ſedulouſly exerciſed either temperately to meet them with the requiſite policy and firmneſs, or to transfer from their hands, to thoſe of more equitable nations, the unrequited benefits they receive from us—or to derive from our own ſkill, capital, credit, and induſtry, the accommodations and ſupplies which they have heretofore furniſhed upon terms of great advantage to themſelves, but which have been inadequately reciprocated to the united ſtates.

SEVENTH NUMBER.

Containing a table of the principal reſtrictions, impoſitions and prohibitions ſuſtained by the united ſtates, in their trade with the Britiſh dominions, and of thoſe ſuſtained by Great Britain in her trade with the dominions of the united ſtates: alſo ſome remarks on certain prevalent topics, relative to the general buſineſs and intercourſe between the two countries.

THE intention of the foregoing examination being ſolely the correction of error in the ſtatement of facts, and in the opinions or concluſions deduced from them, it will not be improper to purſue the ſubject with the ſame views, a little further. An idea, that the balance of favour or indulgence is received by the united ſtates, frequently appears in the publications, and is ſaid to prevail in the minds of perſons of weight and influence in Great Britain. It may not therefore be uſeleſs to bring up to view the principal facts relative to the queſtion of reciprocity of commercial regulation. An attempt will be made to throw this ſtatement into the form of a table, as it will be the more clear and impreſſive,

GREAT BRITAIN	THE UNITED STATES
Prohibits American veſſels from entering into the ports of ſeveral parts of her dominions, viz. the Weſt Indies, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunſwic, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Hudſon's Bay, Honduras Bay, and her Eaſt India ſpice market.	Admit Britiſh veſſels into *all* their ports, ſubject to a tonnage duty of 44 cents, or 24 ſterling pence, more than American veſſels, and an addition of one tenth to the amount of the impoſt accruing on their cargoes.
She impoſes double light money on American veſſels in moſt of her ports.	They do not impoſe extra light money on Britiſh veſſels in any of their ports.
She prohibits the navigating, *ad libitum*, of American veſſels, by native or other ſeamen.	They admit the navigating of Britiſh veſſels by native or other ſeamen, *ad libitum*.
She prohibits the employment of American-built ſhips by her own citizens, in many branches of trade, upon any terms.	They admit the employment of Britiſh-built ſhips by their own citizens, in every branch of trade, upon the terms of 44 cents extra per ton, and one tenth extra on the impoſt ariſing from their cargoes.
She charges a duty on American ſail-cloth, made up in the united ſtates for Britiſh ſhips.	They do not charge a duty on Britiſh ſail-cloth, made up in Great Britain for American ſhips.
She prohibits the importation of goods from ſeveral parts of her dominions into others, in American veſſels, upon any terms.	They admit the importation of goods from any part of their dominions into another, in Britiſh veſſels, on the terms of 44 cents per ton extra on the veſſel.
She prohibits the importation of goods into Great Britain, by American veſſels, from any other country than the U. S.	They admit the importation of goods into the united ſtates, in Britiſh veſſels, from *every* country whatever.
She prohibits the importation into Great Britain from the united ſtates, by American veſſels, of all goods not produced by the united ſtates.	They do not prohibit the importation into the united ſtates from Great Britain, by Britiſh veſſels, of any goods not produced by Great Britain.

GREAT BRITAIN.	THE UNITED STATES.
She prohibits the importation of any goods previouſly brought into the united ſtates, from the ſaid ſtates into Great Britain, even in Britiſh veſſels.	They do not prohibit the importation of any goods previouſly brought into Great Britain, from that kingdom into the united ſtates, in either Britiſh or American bottoms.
She prohibits the exportation of ſeveral articles from Great Britain to the united ſtates.	They do not prohibit the exportation of any article from the united ſtates to Great Britain.
She lays duties of various rates upon the exportation of many articles to the united ſtates.	They do not lay a duty on the exportation of any article whatever to Great Britain.
She prohibits the importation of all manufactures from the united ſtates, into her European dominions, and her colonies, unleſs it be ſome very ſimple preparations and decoctions, requiſite to her navy, ſhipping and manufactures.	They do not prohibit the importation of any manufacture whatever from Great Britain.
She impoſes very conſiderable duties upon ſome of the *agricultural* productions of the united ſtates, and excludes others by duties equal to their value.	They impoſe moderate duties (lower than any other foreign nation by 2, 3, and 4 for one) on the *produce and manufactures* of Great Britain, except in a very few inſtances, and exclude ſcarcely any articles by duties equal to their value.
She prohibits for conſiderable terms of time, ſome of the principal *agricultural* productions of the united ſtates, and others at all times.	They prohibit none of the agricultural productions of Great Britain or her dominions.
It is underſtood that by treaty ſhe grants ſome favours, which are not extended to the united ſtates.	They treat Great Britain as favourably as any nation whatever, as to ſhips, imports, and exports, and in all other reſpects.
She prohibits the importation of ſome American articles, in American ſhips, or any but Britiſh ſhips, into her European dominions.	They do not prohibit the importation of any Britiſh article in Britiſh veſſels or any but American veſſels.

GREAT BRITAIN.	THE UNITED STATES.
She does not permit an American citizen to import goods into ſome of her dominions, and to ſell them there even in Britiſh veſſels. In other parts of her dominions, ſhe lays an extra tax on him, or his ſales.	They permit a Britiſh citizen to import goods into all their ports, in any veſſels, and to ſell them there without any extra tax on him, or his ſales.
She impoſes heavy duties on certain articles of the produce of the American fiſheries, and inſupportable duties on others, in ſome parts of her dominions: and in other parts, ſhe prohibits their importation.	They impoſe only five per cent. on the produce of the Britiſh fiſheries (which duty is drawn back on exportation) and admit every article derived from them.
She prohibits the conſumption of ſome American articles, of which ſhe permits the importation.	They do not prohibit the conſumption of any Britiſh article whatever.
She prohibits the importation of American articles from foreign countries into the Britiſh dominions, even in her own ſhips.	They do not prohibit the importation of Britiſh articles from foreign countries in any ſhips.

In detailing the regulations of foreign nations, ſo various and complex as thoſe of Great Britain, it is not eaſy to be correct. The above ſtatement, however, is ſincerely believed to contain the ſubſtance of the exiſting Britiſh reſtrictions, prohibitions and impoſitions upon commerce, ſo far as they have any relation to the poſſible or actual intercourſe with the united ſtates. Thoſe which are to be found in the acts of congreſs, or which reſult from them, are few, and are conceived to be correctly given in the table. On a review of the whole of theſe regulations, it will be perceived, that thoſe of the united ſtates are conſiderably more favourable to the ſubjects of the Britiſh crown, and their manufactures, produce and navigation, than thoſe of Great Britain are to the corre-ſponding intereſts of the citizens of the united ſtates. It has appeared neceſſary to make a ſtatement in detail and

by a comparative contraſt, in order that we might render manifeſt *an abſolute and important truth*, that the commercial impediments to Great Britain in the laws of the united ſtates, are much leſs conſiderable than thoſe in the acts of the Britiſh parliament are to the united ſtates. Had this ſtatement been confined to *the iſland of Great Britain* alone, on the one part, and our dominions at large, on the other, it would have been found, that our obſtructions to Britiſh commerce are far leſs than thoſe which Britain throws in the way of the commerce of the united ſtates. But it is fair and natural for us, in conſidering a *national* ſubject, to take into our eſtimation the whole of the territories of the Britiſh crown, and the whole population, trade, manufactures, and productions thereof, more eſpecially as it is plain, that all conſiderations, relative to the American ſide, are extended to our whole territory and all its appurtenances and relative circumſtances. Should Great Britain prove, that exceptions reſpecting colonies are as reaſonable on her part, as they are faſhionable, ſtill it remains to be counterbalanced, that no ſuch exceptions are made by us; for we treat the veſſels, produce and citizens of *the colonies*, as we treat thoſe of Britain. If it is politic and right that the parliament of Great Britain ſhould exclude us from their colonial trade, then Great Britain ought not to complain of any *countervailing* regulations, which may exclude her from ſome *equivalent* advantage in our trade: and ſo in regard to any other country. Should it be proved, that all nations have interdicted their colonial trade to foreigners, it will be no leſs eaſy to ſhow, that the withholding of any kind of advantage from a foreign nation, by reaſon of the particular circumſtances of the reſtricting party, has always been deemed a juſtification for ſome correſponding reſtriction on the part of the country ſuffering. But it cannot be proved, that all nations prohibit the participation in their colonial trade to foreigners. The French, the Swedes, the Danes, and the Dutch govern themſelves differently from Britain and from one another. The interdicting rule is not univerſal. It cannot be rendered permanent, uniform, or preciſe. It muſt, therefore,

be liable, like other commercial objects, to *legiſlative diſcretion and treaty*, and muſt be involved in the general queſtion of *reciprocity*. Were this not the caſe, the greateſt political abſurdities would be induced. Let it be ſuppoſed for a moment, that two European nations poſſeſs tranſmarine colonies of equal value, and that one of them grants a perfect freedom of the trade of her colonies to the united ſtates, while the other abſolutely refuſes that advantage to us. It will not be alleged, that the laſt of theſe nations has claims to a participation in the commerce of the united ſtates, equal to thoſe of the former. Further—the diſtinction taken, with regard to *colonies*, does not apply to all the tranſmarine dominions of the Britiſh crown. Canada, Nova Scotia, New-Brunſwic, Jamaica, and a part of the iſland of St. Chriſtophers, for example, are *conquered countries*, to whoſe commerce, conſiderations other than colonial, apply. And were the idea of colonies ſtrictly adhered to (viz. the eſtabliſhment of bodies of natives, who have emigrated from a ſtate, and ſettled in a new country, politically connected with the old one) it would be found, that ſeveral of the new ſtates of America are more truly colonies of the older ſtates, than ſeveral iſlands and provinces, which bear the appellation, are colonies of Great Britain.

As it has been an uniform opinion of lord Sheffield and other perſons in England, that ſhipbuilding would be annihilated in the united ſtates, the preſent ſtate of that buſineſs, it is hoped, will deſtroy ſome material miſcalculations, and will prove, that we do not labour under an inability to carry our own productions without the aid of *any one* foreign nation. If we have not yet encountered the expenſe of a navy, let it be remembered, that Pruſſia, which has many more private veſſels than Ruſſia, has acted the ſame part; although the empreſs, with fewer merchant ſhips, than any maritime power in Europe, and much fewer than the united ſtates, has nevertheleſs a very formidable navy.

Nations, which at preſent enjoy any conſiderable portion of the American trade, muſt ſuſtain very unfavoura-

ble conſequences from the continuance of impediments or burdens on our future intercourſe with their dominions. Our exports, being tranſported in our own ſhips and thoſe of any leſs unkind country, may advance the manufactures and trade of a nation adjacent and rival to them---or, ſent to the colonies of more favourable nations, may greatly increaſe interfering colonial productions. It is with the utmoſt difficulty, that any nation now accompliſhes circuitous ſupplies of other European countries with our produce; and it will become our duty to make foreign nations ſenſible of the diſadvantages of double freights and charges, under which they receive our productions, the loſs ariſing from which, falls in part, upon our farmers, and, in part, upon their citizens, who are the conſumers. Aggravating impediments to our trade, are now deeply and conſtantly wounding the manufacturers in Europe, who work up American raw materials, or who ſupply us with their fabrics. Duties on our iron, for example, reduced the price, and thus occaſioned it to be bought at home to manufacture: and ſo of other native raw materials. The refuſal of cotton, and other raw articles, not of our growth, in any bottoms, from America, makes them cheaper to our manufacturers, or to the exporters of them, for the uſe of thoſe European manufacturers, whoſe laws will permit them to be received from hence. Impediments in the way of our ſhipping, or heavy duties on merchandiſe from hence, occaſion the merchants, as before obſerved, in regard to our produce, to ſend foreign raw materials to countries, that will admit the veſſels and goods upon more eaſy terms. Nations, in this enlightened age, will more and more avail themſelves of *the miſtakes* that obtain in the commercial regulations of their neighbours and rivals: and the errors of reſtrictions and duties, ſo far as they ſhall be really impolitic, will thus induce a certain and conſequent ſuffering by thoſe who impoſe them on us. So, as one country drives our veſſels and produce from her ports, others may be thereby induced to open their markets to them. The currents of com-

merce, like thoſe of the rivers, will certainly be turned from that ſide where obſtructions are created.

The united ſtates have been led to ſerious and beneficial reflexion on their affairs, by the prevailing diſpoſition to reſtrict their intercourſe with Europe, and the ſeverer regulations of ſeveral nations in regard to the commerce of their tranſmarine dominions. They are prompted to decide that the immenſe ſavings and the extenſive advantages they can derive from manufactures, protected by their own laws, render them no leſs worthy of a ſhare of their capital and induſtry, than foreign commerce. The importance of this object has been forced upon the minds of many, by European reſtrictions: and a continuance of thoſe reſtrictions, will, though gradually, yet infallibly, make converts of the whole nation. So weighty are the conſiderations relative to manufactures, in the opinions of many, that it begins to be ſeriouſly queſtioned, whether the employment of a ſhare of 20 or 25,000 tons of veſſels in the Britiſh Weſt India trade, and of leſs than half that quantity in the trade to their remaining colonies, ought to induce our conſent materially to keep down or diminiſh any ſalutary duties on foreign manufactures. The American impoſt is now very moderate, compared with that of other nations; unqueſtionably the moſt ſo of any which Britiſh goods encounter in foreign countries. It does not exceed, on a medium, 8 or 9 per cent. Were it to be increaſed to 14, 20, 25, 28, and even $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. as in France, Spain, and Portugal---were prohibitions to be added on ſome articles, as in thoſe countries, and on all articles, as in one or two others, (with a judicious poſtponement of the time, for the ſtrongeſt regulations to take place) what would be the conſequences, what the effects upon the tranſplanting of foreign capital and manufactures to the united ſtates? It may be urged, that we ſhould be injured by ſuch prohibition, or even by the higher rates of duty above mentioned. So far as we did not get manufactures eſtabliſhed in the mean time, that might be the caſe; but the ſame might be obſerved, in regard to the commercial regulations of Great Britain, ſome of which really

injure her; and many of which injure Ireland, the Weſt Indies, and the remaining colonies.

If it is in the power of Great Britain to draw from other countries, the articles ſhe obtains from us of better quality, and upon lower terms, which is often aſſerted to be poſſible, it is not to be forgotten, that by ceaſing to receive any goods from the united ſtates, the benefit of employing her ſhips will be ſo far loſt. The articles rejected may be ſomewhat more difficult for us to ſell, and therefore will be neceſſarily converted, in a greater degree than at preſent, into manufactures, or they may go to ſupply other nations, who now purchaſe thoſe foreign articles, which it is alleged Britain can procure with more advantage. Among the objections Great Britain ought to have to this, the new foreign connexions we ſhall be thereby led to form, and the cement it will give to old ones, will not be found the leaſt. But the aſſertion really is not true. The furs and ſkins, the oak timber, oak boards, oak planks, ſtaves, potaſh, pearl aſh, ginſeng, the ſame quality of rice, ſome qualities of tobacco, the grain, in caſe of ſhort European crops, and ſome of the naval ſtores cannot be obtained in quantity and quality from other countries.

We are not infrequently reminded, when the loſs of the American market and conſumption of Britiſh manufactures is ſpoken of, that, notwithſtanding our former non-importation agreements, and the interruptions of the war, the Britiſh manufactories were more flouriſhing, than during the previous peace, when our demand was the greateſt. There appear to be ſome reaſons, however, for doubting the truth of this aſſertion. The tables in Anderſon's commerce, already mentioned, ſtate the exports of the year 1774 at £.17,607,447, and thoſe of 1781, at £.11,470,388. This declenſion was regular, almoſt every year's exports being leſs than thoſe of the preceding. Theſe facts are the more remarkable, as the imports of Great Britain in 1781, were greater than thoſe in 1776, or in any intermediate year, and the prices of raw articles and proviſions exported, were higher. It is to be obſerved, alſo, that large exports for the Britiſh mer-

chants and dealers, who ſold extra ſupplies to their armies and navies in America, the Weſt and Eaſt Indies, Gibraltar, *&c.* were made, for the uſe of the great number of officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, employed in thoſe places. The extra public purchaſes of clothing, tents, arms, cordage, ſail cloth, porter, and other *manufactured* articles, for their ſea and land forces, muſt have been immenſe, when we reflect, that about £.14,000,000 per annum, on an average of the term of the war, was added to their debt, beſides the great ſums of money collected and paid within the year; and that the ſupplies granted for 1781, exceed thoſe of 1774 by £.19,300,000, a larger ſum by 100 per cent. than Great Britain uſually exported in manufactures prior to the late treaty of peace. The expenditures of ſuch a war, muſt, indeed, occaſion the woolen, linen, leathern and metal branches, and ſeveral others, to flouriſh exceedingly: but the conſequences in regard to the increaſe of burdens on the people, and to the national proſperity, muſt be viewed in the moſt ſerious light. In the time of the war, too, foreign manufactures could be leſs eaſily introduced into their own markets, which left the demand for conſumption and importation to be ſupplied by their own people. It is to be obſerved further, that the eight years which followed 1774, were thoſe in which machinery was firſt rendered conſiderably profitable in Great Britain. Before the American war, the cotton branch was very inconſiderable in that country; but though it has increaſed wonderfully ſince the peace, it muſt have felt a very large advancement during the term in which our regular importations from thence were cut off. Other branches were aided during thoſe years, by the introduction of machinery, manual ſlight, and new proceſſes, ſo as to diminiſh the effects of the interruption of the American demand. It is in the higheſt degree probable, that the loſs of our conſumption would be ſenſibly felt at this time. In a ſeaſon of peace, the enormous extra demand for the uſe of their armies and navy does not exiſt. Ireland now menaces Great Britain with the diminution of her importations. Such extraordinary *new* inventions of mechanical aid are not

to be expected again—and the united ſtates might derive a very conſiderable degree of independency on Britiſh manufactures, by the adoption of labour-ſaving machines, (the peculiar value of which, to them, they are beginning to perceive) in the cotton, flaxen, hempen, metal and part of the woolen and ſilken branches, to all of which raw materials they apply. The capacities of the united ſtates for eſtabliſhing theſe mills, and manufactures in general, will be exemplified in the caſe of New Jerſey, which by a return in 1784 is aſcertained to have had then 41 fulling mills, 8 furnaces, 79 forges, 366 ſaw mills, 508 griſt mills, and 192 tan-yards, though her population appears to be about one part in twenty-one of that of the united ſtates. Were the united Netherlands to ſeize a moment of uneaſineſs between us and Great Britain, and were they to devote their ſhipping and immenſe private capital to the ſupply and promotion of machine manufactures, they would prove dangerous rivals to England in all foreign markets: and the ſame may be ſaid in regard to the efforts of other countries, if they were ſeriouſly to undertake manufactures by labour-ſaving machinery.

It may be fairly aſked, what country ſupports the navy of Great Britain, in ſo great a degree as the united ſtates, by the employment they give to her ſhips? The Ruſſian trade furniſhes cargoes for much leſs than 230,000 tons, which is the exact quantity of Britiſh veſſels that cleared from theſe ſtates, in the year following Auguſt 1789. The whole Baltic trade of Great Britain, with all the countries of the various powers that lie within the ſound, important as it is to her, does not fill more. Their trade with Holland, France, Spain, and Portugal, does not all together employ as many veſſels. Their whole fiſheries, American colonial trade, and Weſt India trade, do not employ and load more. And how, it may be further aſked, are the united ſtates requited for thus ſtrengthening the acknowledged bulwark of Great Britain, by annually giving a complete lading to the unequalled quantity of 230,000 tons of her private veſſels? The whole of the American veſſels, which have ar-

rived in our ports, in the ſame year, from all the countries and places ſubject to the Britiſh crown, amount to no more than 43,580 tons. Yet there are not wanting perſons, who will affirm, that the balance of *favour* is given to the united ſtates: and, that Great Britain is ſo far injured by our deportment, as to juſtify a retaliation upon us!

There are ſome conſiderations drawn from the ſtate of things in Europe, which ought to render the Britiſh commerce with the united ſtates and the conſumption of Britiſh manufactures by the citizens of this country, matters of greater than former importance. The infuſion of republican qualities into the governments of that quarter of the world, will be followed by the extenſion of trade, internal and external. The character of the merchant and manufacturer will be duly eſteemed, and large portions of dormant capital, and numerous claſſes of inactive men, will be turned by circumſtances to employments, which will have loſt their ancient imaginary diſrepute. The tendency of ſuch events, in regard to the ſupply of raw materials, and in regard to manufactures which America now draws from Great Britain, will not be difficult to diſcover.

A reliance is ſometimes placed upon the diſpoſition of the ſouthern parts of the united ſtates of America, in favour of ſuch regulations of commerce, as would be agreeable to Great Britain—that is, the eaſy and unincumbered admiſſion of her ſhips and manufactures into our ports. Whatever truth there may be in regard to ſome of thoſe ſtates, it is known they are far from unanimous, on that ſubject. It may be queſtioned, too, whether meaſures, which would create diſputes, and interrupt the Britiſh trade with America, would not be diſagreeable and inconvenient to the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, as was manifeſtly the caſe on the occaſion of the late difference with Ruſſia. Ports circumſtanced as Liverpool and Lancaſter, which have large concerns in ſhips and comparatively little other trade but as carriers and ſhipholders, may be diſpoſed to promote any meaſures, that will advance navigation, at the ex-

penſe of general commerce, manufactures, and agriculture; but the great capitaliſts and merchants of London, Briſtol, and Glaſgow, &c. and the manufacturers of Mancheſter, Sheffield, Birmingham, Norwich, Yorkſhire, &c. will view with due ſerioufneſs, the probability of diverting our trade into other channels, and the deliberate and decided meaſures to promote American manufactures, which the reſtraints upon our navigation and commerce may hereafter produce. The objections of thoſe parts of the ſouthern ſtates, which may be averſe to further impoſitions on foreign merchandiſe, will be moderated by their convictions, that American manufacturers may be brought to conſume and work up their productions at home, and to furniſh them in return by not very ſlow degrees, with the ſupplies they now derive from abroad.

At the time when this examination was commenced, it was believed, from many ſymptoms, that the true ſtate of things in this country was little known or underſtood in Great Britain. The prejudices naturally ariſing from ſo warm a conteſt as that of 1775, the diſorders which grew out of a lax and ill digeſted government, and the errors incidental to an inexperienced country, ſuddenly elevated from a colony to an empire—all contributed to deceive and miſlead Great Britain, in her eſtimation of the united ſtates. The volume of lord Sheffield was ſuppoſed to increaſe the public miſconceptions. His work upon the Iriſh commerce in 1785, repreſented the American ſtates in the ſame unfavourable manner in ſeveral paſſages. Symptoms of error in the opinions of other perſons of reſpectable ſtanding in the Britiſh community, were, unfortunately, obſervable. It appeared, therefore, to be a matter of great importance to both nations, that an attempt ſhould be made to point out paſt and to correct exiſting miſtakes. While it has been deſired in doing this, to excite no painful ſenſations in the minds of thoſe who are connected with the intereſts of Great Britain, it has not been deemed neceſſary or fit to ſuppreſs any truths, becauſe they might prove unacceptable to perſons if any ſuch there be, who may want magnanimity enough to receive them with modera-

ſion, and to examine them with candour. The facts adduced on this occaſion, are certainly not the more true because they have been aſſerted in this publication, nor will it be denied, that coming from an American preſs, they ſhould be examined, on the other ſide carefully and thoroughly. It was ſincerely treated in the beginning as genuine policy in nations, to avoid ſhort lived deceptions, and rather to ſearch diligently for the ground of common intereſt, which can never be aſcertained by miſrepreſentation, or by erroneous or diſingenuous inveſtigation. If arrangements beneficial to the two countries can be effected, it muſt be through means very different from thoſe. The minds of well intentioned and able men on both ſides ſhould be diſpaſſionately applied to the neceſſary enquiries and diſcuſſions; the ſubject ſhould be thoroughly examined and underſtood, and frank admiſſions of the advantages derived by either nation from the other, ought to be made. With the lights, which might be thus obtained, it would not be difficult to determine whether the nature of things in the united ſtates and Great Britain, requires or admits of a treaty of friendſhip and commerce.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE,

Concerning the progreſs and preſent ſtate of American domeſtic, *or* houſehold *manufactures.*

IN the paſſage of the obſervations, which forms the head of paper No. 3, to which this note belongs, the writer predicts, that we ſhall give a preference to Britiſh manufactures; that we ſhall not manufacture for ourſelves; and that our demand for Britiſh goods will increaſe, in proportion to our population. The facts, in oppoſition to theſe ideas, which relate to the ſupplies drawn from foreign nations, have already been ſtated; as have moſt of thoſe which regard American manufactures, produced by thoſe who purſue them as a *ſeparate occupation* or *calling*. But Lord Sheffield does not appear to have foreſeen the preſent ſtate of our *family* or *houſehold* mannfactures.

The progreſs and preſent ſtate of this invaluable branch of the national induſtry, exceeds every idea, it is believed, that has been formed of it, either in this country or in Europe. In all the ſtates inhabited almoſt en-

tirely by white people, domeſtic manufactures are known to be very conſiderable, yielding a conſiderable ſurplus for the uſe of the other parts of the union. But it is generally ſuppoſed, that in the ſtates where the black people are numerous, (and eſpecially near their ſea coaſts, where imported goods can be conſtantly and eaſily obtained) little or no manufactures are made. The following abſtract from a minute ſtatement of the houſehold manufactures, in one neighbourhood, of twenty families (rich and poor) indiſcriminately taken, and in a part of Virginia, on a navigable river emptying into the Atlantic ocean, where the whites are, to the blacks, as one to two, will ſhow that much more is probably made, than is generally believed to be the caſe.

Male and female houſe keepers,		20
Total number of white and black perſons,		301
Fine table linen, ſheeting, ſhirting, &c. yards,		1,907
Negro clothing, blanketing &c. yards,		1,007
Value of fine cloth, &c. per yard,	cents	60
Value of coarſe do. per do.		42
Pairs of fine ſtockings,		152
Pairs of coarſe do.		108
Higheſt value made in one family,	dolls.	267
Loweſt do.		21½
Total value of the manufactures of the 20 families,		1,670½
Families which did not manufacture,		1
Term,	the year	1790.

The following table, obtained in the like indiſcriminate and impartial way, has alſo been exhibited from another county of the ſame ſtate, the ſituation of which is interior.

Families, rich and poor,		20
Yards of linen,		1,095
Yards of woolen,		344
Yards of cotton,		1,681
Pairs of ſtockings,		174
Pairs of ſhoes made on the eſtates,		237
Total value,	dolls.	1791
Term,	the year	1790

A perſon of reputation, who furniſhed the latter ſtatement, accompanied it with an aſſurance, that it might

be conſidered as a fair average of the *family* manufactures throughout the adjacent counties.

Theſe papers have been obtained under circumſtances that juſtify a reliance on their truth, and are believed to be very little variant from the medium of the ſtate of Virginia. Though they cannot be made the baſis of a ſatisfactory eſtimate, the following brief one is hazarded merely to ſhow the reſult. In Virginia (excluſively of Kentucky) 70,825 families appear on the late cenſus. The loweſt of the above returns (1,670⅓ dollars) is at the rate of 8$3\frac{1}{3}$ dollars to each family for home-made *hoſiery and cloths* of wool, flax, hemp and cotton only. Two thirds of this rate upon the whole number of families (cutting off a third, to make a moderate caculation, and omitting odd numbers) give the prodigious ſum of 3,900,000 dollars for thoſe articles of mere *domeſtic* manufacture (excluſively of the work of regular tanners, ſhoemakers, blackſmiths, weavers and other tradeſmen) in Virginia, and taking the united ſtates at 3,900,000 perſons, would appear to juſtify a computation of above 20,000,000 dollars for the whole.

Through ſimilar means, but on the examination of other perſons in the counties of Accomack and Northampton, lying on the bay of Cheſapeak and the Atlantic ocean, it appears, that 315,000 yards of flaxen cloth are made in a diſtrict containing 2,729 families: alſo 45,000 yards of woolen, 30,000 yards of cotton, and 45,000 yards of linen and woolen cloth, and a quantity of coarſe ſtockings nearly equal to the demand. It is added, that all the ſhoes, and three fourths of the clothing of that country, are made by the tradeſmen, or within the families, who reſide in it. The raw materials, including the cotton, are the growth of their farms.

Another communication through the ſame channel, ſtates the manufactures of iron to exceed all others in Virginia (which muſt be erroneous, if houſehold manufactures, as well as trades, be taken into the calculation) and that the greater part of the farmers and planters tan the hides of the cattle they conſume.

Two other communications from the ſame ſtate inform, that *the families* in certain vicinities mentioned in

them, make on a medium near 200 yards each of cotton, woolen, and linen goods—and that five-ſixths of the ſhoes, cloth, and ſtockings, which are uſed in that country, are made in the houſehold way. Theſe two laſt ſtatements contemplate four counties.

Similar information from the interior parts of South Carolina (tho' leſs ſtrong and extenſive) has alſo been obtained, accompanied with a variety of ſpecimens of ſubſtantial midling and coarſe cotton, woolen, and linen goods, of which it is ſtated, that the inhabitants of that country manufacture, entirely in the family way, as much as they have occaſion for, "cotton, flax, and hemp, being plentiful, and there being a conſiderable ſtock of good ſheep;" "that there is a great deal done in the houſehold way," and "that the greateſt exertions are made;" "that they have been long in the habit of doing ſomething in family manufactures, but have improved much in the laſt two years; and that the weaving is done by the females," which leaves the induſtry of the males to be applied to agriculture.

It is well eſtabliſhed, that ſimilar habits prevail in the interior country of Georgia; and in the midland and weſtern counties of North Carolina, they are as attentive to domeſtic manufactures as the people of Virginia.

Such is the ſtate of domeſtic or houſehold manufactures in the ſouthern ſtates, where abundance of very fertile and cheap lands, and a large portion of black population, are ſuppoſed, in Europe, and even in our own country, to have prevented any conſiderable attention to that frugal and induſtrious purſuit.

Let us now turn to the northern ſcenes, where a more replete population, and a leſs productive ſoil have led to the proſecution of many branches of manufactures as regular trades.

The reſult of a careful enquiry, in every county of the ſtate of Connecticut, has been uniform information from twenty four vicinities, that *domeſtic* manufactures are carried to a very great extent. The articles, made in the family way, and by perſons engaged ordinarily in the cultivation of the earth, are woolen and linen cloths, includ-

ing ſail-cloth; bed-ticks, ſome cotton goods, hoſiery, nails, and ſpikes, ſome ſilk buttons, handkerchiefs, ribands and ſtuffs, ſewing ſilk, threads, fringe, and pot and pearl aſhes. It is obſerved, that there is ſcarcely a family in the ſtate of Connecticut, ſo rich or ſo poor, as not aſſiduouſly to attend to domeſtic manufactures; that they are extending and improving very faſt in quantity, variety, and quality;—and that conſiderable parcels of houſehold linens, *&c.* are carried out by land and exported by water to the middle and ſouthern ſtates. Here then is *a ſurplus* of houſehold manufactures ſold *out of the ſtate.* It is an acknowledged fact, that New England linens have affected the price and importation of that article from New York to Georgia. The foregoing ſtatement is not intended to comprehend the manufactories of woolen cloths, hats, cotton goods, ſail-cloth, checked and plain linens, ſhoes and boots, bell metal, buttons, wool and cotton cards, flaxſeed oil, ſoap, candles, nails, anchors, axes, ſpades, ſhovels, cabinet work, carriages, ſaddles, books, *&c. &c.* conducted as regular and ſeparate trades by individuals, companies, and aſſociations, whhich are very conſiderable.

An enquiry has alſo been made, by a perſon of judgment, in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, who alleges, that the importations of foreign *manufactures* into that ſtate, are leſs by one half, at this time, than they were twenty years ago, though there has been a prodigious increaſe of population, and though conſiderable quantities of home-made articles, are tranſported by land and water, to other parts. This is aſcribed, in a very great degree, to the domeſtic manufactures, which are obſervable in the dreſſes and furniture of the people, and in the outward cargoes of the coaſting and other trading veſſels. The informant here contemplated, produced documents to ſhow the magnitude of ſome of the regular trades, among which were 10,000 dozen pair of cotton and wool cards, much the greater part of which are applied to domeſtic manufactures throughout the united ſtates, 2,400 pieces of ſail cloth per annum, at a ſingle factory, 100 tons of nails per annum, at the Taunton factory

alone, and 150,000 pair of ſtuff and ſilk ſhoes in the ſingle town of Lynn, of which 10,355 pair had been ſhipt by one family to the Philadelphia market in a ſingle year, although the manufacturers of that city, in the ſame line, are very expert and numerous.

Another informant has furniſhed a return, from which it appears, that in the laſt year thread and ſilk laces, and edgings, black and white, amounting to 41,979 yards, were manufactured in the family way, and not in regular factories, in the town of Ipſwich in Maſſachuſetts, which contains, by the late cenſus, 4,562 men, women, and children. Pattern cards, containing thirty-ſix ſpecimens of theſe hitherto unnoticed manufactures, have been exhibited. This townſhip comprehending a ſmall ſeaport, and conſequently being open to foreign goods, and the freight of ſo compact an article as lace, being very ſmall, it will be conſidered as a curious fact, that this manufacture ſhould have grown up there to ſo great a height. It is added in the information, that laces are made in various parts of Maſſachuſetts, though no where in ſo great a degree. It is alſo underſtood to be a domeſtic manufacture in ſeveral parts of Connecticut.

The exiſtence and continual increaſe of domeſtic manufactures, in Rhode Iſland, and New Hampſhire, are eſtabliſhed on ſimilar authority:—and the growth of regular trades is very great in the former, in proportion to its population. It is ſuppoſed to have ſucceeded as well as any ſcene, in its attempts in the cotton branch, by labour-ſaving machines. The following parcels of goods were manufactured, in the *family* way, in the firſt nine months of 1791, in the town of Providence, though it is a ſeaport, and has a number of regular ſhops and factories, for making ſeveral of the ſame ſpecies of goods,

Linen cloth,	25,265 yards.
Cotton do.	5,858 do.
Woolen do.	3,165 do.
Carpeting,	512 do.
Stockings,	4,093 pairs.
Gloves and mitts,	859 do.
Fringe,	260 yards

Three millions of nails (by tale) and 30,000 yards of woolen cloth were made, in 1790, in the town and vicinity of Providence. The induſtry of farmers and houſewives contributed materially to the manufacture of theſe articles.

The extent of the woolen branch of domeſtic manufactures, in New Hampſhire, is evinced by the great number of its fulling mills; for they have no conſiderable factory employed on that raw material. The ſame may be obſerved in regard to the general knowledge of the art of weaving, among the wives and daughters of the farmers in that ſtate. This fact is very frequently obſervable throughout New England, and ſome other parts of the united ſtates. The number of fulling mills in New Jerſey, which have already been ſtated to be forty-one, is a proof of their domeſtic manufactures; as they have not any factories. In the vicinity of the town of Reading, in Pennſylvania, are ten fulling mills, which induces the ſame concluſion there; and they are very numerous throughout the ſtate. The export of flaxſeed is equal to that of former times; the manufacture of oil conſumes a far greater quantity than heretofore: wherefore a large growth of flax is to be inferred; and as we have very few linen factories, and the exportation of flax has ceaſed, a great domeſtic manufacture of linens muſt exiſt. The ſale of ſpinning-wheel irons, *in one ſhop* in the city of Philadelphia, in the courſe of the laſt year, has amounted to 1,500 ſets, which, though a ſmall fact, is ſtrongly indicative of the extent of domeſtic manufactures, as ſpinning wheels are rarely, if ever, exported, or uſed in regular factories. The quantity ſold is 29 per cent. greater than in any former year. Nail-making is frequently a houſehold buſineſs in New England, a ſmall anvil being found no inconvenience in the corner of a farmer's chimney. Bad weather, hours of diſengagement from the occupations of the farm, and evenings, are thus rendered ſeaſons of ſteady and profitable induſtry. Public eſtimates of the grain and fruit diſtilleries of the united ſtates, have been made at 3,500,000 gallons; much the greater part

of which is made by farmers and planters. The importation of cheeſe from all countries into the united ſtates, was only forty tons, in the year ending in Auguſt 1790: and we exported a much larger quantity in the ſame term, from which a great manufacture of that article (in the domeſtic way, of courſe) is to be inferred. In ſhort, domeſtic manufactures are great, various, and almoſt *univerſal* in this country.

The implements hitherto uſed in houſehold manufactures, have been of the moſt ancient kinds. The art of dying has been advanced in families little further than what was communicated by a recipe as brief as thoſe in a book of culinary inſtructions; the colouring ingredients have generally been ſuch as nature handed to the thrifty houſewife. The operations, from the raw to the manufactured ſtate, have often been the ſimpleſt that can be conceived. Under circumſtances like theſe, it will not be too ſanguine to expect that the diſſemination of uſeful inſtruction in the practice of dying, in the nature of colours, and concerning other parts of the buſineſs, the introduction of the new improvements in the preparing and ſpinning machinery, on a ſcale as convenient as the common weaving apparatus, and the general uſe of the flying ſhuttle, and the double loom, may give a twofold value to this moſt precious branch of the national induſtry. It will not be deemed one of the leaſt favourable circumſtances in the affairs of a country ſo eminently capacitated for agriculture as the united ſtates, that the proſperous courſe of that great employment of their citizens, is accompanied with an aſſiduous proſecution of this economical domeſtic occupation, by perſons of all ages and ſexes, in hours and ſeaſons, which cannot be employed in agricultural labour or in their ordinary family duties.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

On manufactures in general.

THE following repreſentation of the manufactures at preſent exiſting in the united ſtates, will tend to exhibit the ground of reliance which they afford at this time; and preſents the moſt encouraging aſſurances of their ſteady progreſs to permanent eſtabliſhment.

I.

Tanned and tawed leather, dreſſed ſkins, with and without the hair or fur, and manufactures thereof, form one of the beſt eſtabliſhed and moſt important branches. The conſumption and exportation of the following articles, made wholly, or in part of leather or ſkins, are great, and, in ſeveral inſtances, general, and the importation of them, excepting the articles of gloves and fur trimmings, is very inconſiderable. Rigging hides, parchment, ſhoes, boots, and ſlippers, common harneſs of all kinds, harneſs and leathern materials for pleaſurable carriages, ſaddles and bridles, houſings, holſters, ſaddlebags, portmanteaus, boot ſtraps, leathern and hair trunks, fire-buckets, military articles, ſuch as ſlings, belts, cartouch boxes and ſcabbards; leathern breeches and ſome veſts and draw-

ers; men's and youth's, and ſome women's gloves, fur muffs and tippets, linings and trimmings of fur, for women's and men's apparel, ſome chair bottoms, the coatings of wool and cotton cards, and the leathern materials of other manufacturing implements and utenſils; to which may be added glue, being an economical manufacture from the otherwiſe uſeleſs parts of raw and dreſſed ſkins, and from old leathern articles.

II.

Manufactures from hemp and flax form another very important and well eſtabliſhed branch. Theſe are made as well in regular factories and workſhops, as in the houſehold way. Cables, cordage, tarred and untarred; ſeines and nets of various kinds, twine and pack-thread, ſail cloth, tow cloth, white and checked ſhirtings, ſheetings, toweling, table linen, bed ticks, hoſiery, ſewing thread, and ſome thread lace, are the articles manufactured of theſe raw materials. Nearly the whole of the hemp and flax are now of native growth; and as they are productions of every ſtate, the fabrics made of them are peculiarly intereſting. This circumſtance gives breadth and ſolidity to the foundation of the linen branch, and to all others to which it is common.

III.

Manufactures of iron form a very increaſing and uſeful branch. Under this head, the article of nails deſerves particular notice, being brought to the footing of a domeſtic manufacture in ſeveral of the ſtates. The other fabrics, made of this raw material, are ſteel, ſheet iron, nail rods, wheel tire, hoops, weights, ſtoves, pots and other caſtings, ſcale beams, plough irons, hoes and other farming utenſils, the iron and ſteel work for pleaſurable and working carriages, and for ſhip building, anchors, houſehold utenſils of various kinds, ſcrew-preſſes, ſome ſaws, and planes, axes and other utenſils for artizans and manufacturers, and *arms* of various kinds. It is reaſonable to conclude that the manufacture of military articles

become inconſiderable during the exiſting peace. The abundance of mill ſeats, ore and fuel in the united ſtates, a moſt extenſive demand, and the heavy charges of importation, are among the circumſtances which have given a reſpectable eſtabliſhment to the iron manufactories.

IV.

Manufactures of wool and mixtures thereof with cotton and flax, form another branch of peculiar importance, from their being principally the productions of domeſtic induſtry, at times and ſeaſons which can be ſpared from other occupations. Theſe are broad and narrow cloths, chiefly common or coarſe; coatings, caſimers, ſerges, flannels, hoſiery, ſome blankets, linſey woolſey, and negro cloth in very large quantities, coverlets and counterpanes, men's and boys' hats, a few carpets, fringe, cord, and taſſels. This raw material will eventually prove univerſal in the united ſtates, and is already found in every ſtate.

The four preceding branches may be thrown into the firſt claſs, in regard to preſent importance, and are eſtabliſhed in a *conſiderable degree*. They are increaſing rapidly, and particularly the three firſt, from the facility of procuring very large quantities of the requiſite raw materials, the introduction of various new implements and machinery, the abundance of fuel, lime, bark, and other articles employed in their manufacture. The latter is ſteadily progreſſive in quantity, and has improved rapidly within the laſt two years.

V.

Manufactures of cotton, and mixtures thereof with flax and hemp, as alſo with wool, conſtitute a growing and very promiſing branch. In ſeveral of the ſtates, factories of this raw material have been commenced. Very conſiderable quantities of goods are made of it, in the houſehold way, and particularly in the ſouthern ſtates,

of all of which it is a production. The articles uſually made are corduroys, velverets, jeans, fuſtians and plain and ſtriped cloths, for women's uſe, hoſiery, thread, fringe, cord and taſſels, counterpanes and coverlets, candle-wick, and, when mixed with wool, very large quantities of negro clothing. Connected with this branch is the buſineſs of callico printing, in which ſome promiſing attempts have been made.

VI.

Ships and boats, with their numerous and requiſite appurtenances, conſtitute a branch much leſs valuable in money than the preceding; but conſidering how neceſſary they are to agriculture and manufactures, as well as to commerce and the fiſheries, they appear to be of primary importance. Theſe are conſtructed upon the moſt favourable terms, and with great perfection.

VII.

Paper of all kinds, forms a very beneficial branch, of conſiderable and increaſing extent. The ſpecies made are paper hangings, playing cards, paſte-boards, fullers or preſs papers, ſheathing and wrapping paper, writing and printing paper of various kinds and qualities, except the largeſt and moſt coſtly; appurtenant to this branch is the very increaſing and highly uſeful buſineſs of book printing. From the abundance of mill ſeats, and the reſpectable eſtabliſhment of the paper manufactory in ſome of the ſtates, it is manifeſt, that a much more conſiderable ſaving or gain might be derived to the country, with the requiſite attention to the preſervation of the old and otherwiſe uſeleſs materials.

VIII.

Sugars refined in various degrees, form a branch ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed as to require little attention, but to the acquiſition of the raw material.

IX.

Cabinet wares and turnery, both of the ſimpleſt and moſt elegant kinds, are made in quantities commenſurate with the demand, as well of native as foreign materials. Connected with theſe in ſome degree, is the manufacture of many kinds of muſical inſtruments, which has gained a footing within a few years, that promiſes an eſtabliſhment adequate to the occaſions of the united ſtates. Other manufactures of wood are made in great quantities, ſuch as coopers' wares, corn fans, and other implements of huſbandry, almoſt every ſpecies of mill work, and lately the moſt valuable and curious manufacturing machinery in various branches.

X.

Wares of the precious metals, (gold and ſilver) including ſet work, and jewellery, are made in great variety and extent. The lateſt addition to this branch is the manufacturing of plated ware, which, however, is not yet conſiderable or eſtabliſhed.

XI.

Manufactures of the mixed metals and of lead and copper, have obtained various degrees of eſtabliſhment. Thoſe of braſs are the moſt extenſive, and, combined with iron and wood, there is a conſiderable variety. Houſehold utenſils, technical and philoſophical inſtruments and materials, furniture and materials for houſes and carriages, and for the building and furniſhing of ſhips, a few barrels and ſome furniture of fire arms, are manufactured of braſs. Pewter and hard metal are very much confined to family utenſils, diſtillers worms, printing types, and buttons. The laſt article is made with great neatneſs and variety in a few ſhops. Lead is worked into ball, ſheets, and every form requiſite for the building and finiſhing of houſes and veſſels, and for the linings and coverings of wood, which is expoſed to water. Succeſsful attempts to manufacture leaden ſhot of various ſizes, have been made.

Copper wares of various kinds, are made in the united ſtates. Theſe are utenſils for diſtillers, ſugar refiners, brewers, and other manufacturers, and for domeſtic and ſhip uſe, articles to be applied in the building of veſſels, and in ſhort, all thoſe things which are requiſite to uſeful and ordinary purpoſes.

Tin wares, for all uſeful purpoſes, are well manufactured.

XII.

Manufactures from fruits, grain, and ſeeds, are very conſiderable. Of the firſt, diſtilled ſpirits are the whole. Of ſimilar liquors from apples, the quantity is large; of thoſe from peaches, it is much leſs, but the quality, when the liquor is matured, is exquiſite: both are increaſing. Of the manufactures from grain and ſeeds (excluſive of meal of all kinds and biſcuit) there is a greater value. Theſe are diſtilled ſpirits, malt, malt liquors, ſtarch, hair powder, wafers, and oil. Theſe articles could be made in quantities commenſurate with the demand; and the ſeveral branches are well underſtood.

XIII.

The manufacture of gunpowder, has advanced with the greateſt rapidity to the point of deſire in regard both to quantity and quality. The hazards and expenſes of importation, the cheapneſs of charcoal, of the requiſite packages, and of mill ſeats and mill work, in the united ſtates, are among the principal cauſes, which have produced ſo accelerated a progreſs.

XIV.

Manufactures of glaſs, of earthen ware, and of ſtone, mixed with clay, are all in an infant ſtate. From the quantity and variety of the materials, which muſt have been depoſited by nature in ſo extenſive a region as the united ſtates, from the abundance of fuel which they contain, from the expenſe of importation, and loſs by fracture, which falls on glaſs and earthen wares, from the ſimpli-

city of many of theſe manufactures, and from the great conſumption of them, impreſſions of ſurpriſe at this ſtate of them, and a firm perſuaſion that they will receive the early attention of foreign or American capitaliſts, are at once produced. Coarſe tiles, and bricks of an excellent quality, potters' wares, all in quantities beyond the home conſumption, a few ordinary veſſels and utenſils of ſtone mixed with clay, ſome muſtard and ſnuff bottles, a few flaſks or flaggons, a ſmall quantity of ſheet glaſs and of veſſels for family uſe, generally of the inferior kinds, are all that are now made.

XV.

Manufactures from the fat and bones of ſea and land animals, form a claſs of conſiderable importance. Theſe are the ſeveral kinds of oil, ſoap, ſpermaceti and tallow candles, articles made of whalebone, ſal ammoniac, and volatile ſalt.

IN addition to the above branches or claſſes, there are manufactured, (beſides the quantities requiſite for the home demand) a conſiderable value for exportation, of the following miſcellaneous articles—potaſhes and pearlaſhes, chewing and ſmoking tobacco and ſnuff, cheeſe, working and pleaſurable carriages, Windſor and varniſhed chairs, oil of turpentine and roſin, wool and cotton cards, and other implements and utenſils for manufacturing: and a large value for home conſumption of fur hats, bruſhes for domeſtic and technical purpoſes, whips and canes, manufactures of horn, mill ſtones and hewn ſtone, lampblack, ochres and other painters' colours, ſome galenical and chemical preparations, clocks and watches, wearing apparel, and a few manufactures of ſilk.

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Schedule of the whole number of persons within the several districts of the united states, according to an act "providing for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the united states," passed March the 1st, 1790.

DISTRICTS.	Free white males of sixteen years and upwards, including heads of families.	Free white males under sixteen years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
*Vermont,	22,435	22,328	40,505	252	16	85,539
N. Hampshire,	36,086	34,851	70,160	630	158	141,185
Maine,	24,384	24,748	46,870	538	none.	96,540
Massachusetts,	95,453	87,289	190,582	5,463	none.	378,787
Rhode-Island,	16,019	15,799	32,652	3,407	948	68,825
Connecticut,	60,523	54,403	117,448	2,808	2,764	237,946
New-York,	83,700	78,122	152,320	4,654	21,324	340,120
New-Jersey,	45,251	41,416	83,287	2,762	11,453	184,139
Pennsylvania,	110,788	106,948	206,363	6,537	3,737	434,373
Delaware,	11,783	12,143	22,384	3,899	8,887	59,094
Maryland,	55,915	51,339	101,395	8,043	103,036	319,728
Virginia,	110,936	116,135	215,046	12,866	292,627	747,610
Kentucky,	15,154	17,057	28,922	114	12,430	73,677
North-Carolina	69,988	77,506	140,710	4,975	100,572	393,751
† S. Carolina,						
Georgia,	13,103	14,044	25,739	398	29,264	82,548

	Free white males of 20 years and upwards, including heads of fam.	Free males under twenty-one years of age.	Free white females including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
S. W. territory,	6,271	10,277	15,365	361	3,417	35,691
N.W. territory,‡						

Truly stated from the original returns deposited in the office of the secretary of state. TH: JEFFERSON.

October 24, 1791.

* This return was not signed by the marshal, but was inclosed and referred to in a letter written and signed by him.

† *Note by the editor.* The population of South Carolina, is conjectured to be near 150,000 whites and near 100,000 blacks.

‡ *Note by the same.* The population of the north western government is supposed to be a few thousands, exclusively of the military.

[PAPER B.]

Treasury department,
Feb. 15, 1791.

SIR,

I DO myself the honour to transmit through you to the house of representatives, a general return of the exports of the united states, abstracted from custom house returns, commencing on the various days in August, 1789, whereon they were respectively opened, and ending on the 30th of September last. From inadvertence in some of those offices, the space of time prior to the 1st of October 1789, was blended with the quarter following, which prevented an uniform commencement of this abstract on that day; and there is yet a deficiency of many of the returns for the last quarter of the year 1790, which confines the abstract to the 30th of September last. The progress which was made in this form of statement of the exports, prior to the order of the house, and the impossibility of having it completed in the form directed by them, before the fourth of March next, have occasioned me to offer it in its present shape.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect, sir,
Your most obt. and most humble servt.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
Secretary of the treasury.

The honorable THE SPEAKER
of the house of representatives of the united states.

Abstract of the exports of the united states, from the commencement of the custom houses in the several states, which was at different times in August, 1789, to the 30th day of September, 1790.

EXPORTED.

	Quantity.		*Value.*
ASHES, pot,	7,050 10/100	tons, dolls.	661,634
Ashes, pearl,	1,548 55/100	do.	177,459. 50
Apples,	5,898	barrels,	6,318
Boats,	8		372
		Carried over	845,783.50

			dolls.
		Brought over	845,783. 50
Bombſhells,	10	tons,	100
Bricks,	870,550		2,617. 50
Beer and porter,	472	caſks,	4,612
Brandy,	97	do.	3,016
Cordials,	236	boxes,	637
Cordage,			5,739
Carriages,	220		28,017
Candles, tallow,	149,680	lbs.	14,876
Candles, wax,	5,274	do.	2,461
Candles, myrtle,	249	do.	52
Cider,	442	barrels,	849
Cotton,	2,027	bales,	58,408
Coffee,	254,752	lbs.	45,753
Chocolate,	29,882	do.	3,537
Cocoa,	10,632	do.	950
Caſſa and cinnamon,	9,392	do.	9,715
Deer ſkins,			33,009
Duck, American,	77	bolts,	777
Duck, Ruſſia,	220	do.	2,200
Earthen and glaſs ware,			1,990
Eſſence ſpruce,	115	boxes,	600
Flaxſeed,	40,019	caſks,	236,072
Flax,	21,970	lbs.	1,468
Furs,			60,515
Furniture			8,351
Fiſhery.			
Fiſh, dried,	378,721	quintals,	828,531
Fiſh, pickled,	36,804	barrels,	113,165
Oil, whale,	15,765	do.	124,908
Oil, ſpermaceti,	5,431	do.	79,542
Candles, do.	70,397	lbs.	27,724
Whalebone,	121,281	do.	20,417
Grain.			
Buckwheat,	7,562	buſhels,	2,572
Corn,	2,102,137	do.	1,083,581
Oats,	98,842	do.	20,900
Rye,	21,765	do.	13,181
Wheat,	1,124,158	do.	1,398,998
Ginſeng,	813	caſks,	47,014
Gunpowder,	5,800	lbs.	861
Gin,	18,025	galls,	16,989
Grindſtones,	3		450
		Carried over	5,150,948

			dolls.
	Brought over		5,150,948
Hairpowder,	12,534	lbs.	1,687
Hats,	668		1,392
Hay,	2,126	tons,	12,851
Horns,			1,052
Ironmongery,			7,878
Iron, pig,	3,555	tons,	91,379
Iron, bar,	200	do.	16,723
Indigo,	612,119	lbs.	537,379
Live ſtock.			
Horned cattle,	5,406		99,960
Horſes,	8,628		339,516
Mules,	237		8,846
Sheep,	10,058		17,039
Hogs,	5,304		14,481
Poultry,	3,704	doz.	6,263
Lumber.			
Staves & heading,	36,402,301		463,229
Shingles,	67,331,115		120,151
Shook hogſheads,	52,558		32,002
Hoops,	1,908,310		19,598
Boards,	46,747,730		260,213
Handſpikes,	2,361	doz.	1,505
Caſks,	2,423		3,697
Scantling,	8,719,638	feet.	95,308
Lumber difft. kinds		feet,	128,503
Timber do.		do.	139,328
Leather,	22,698	lbs.	5,302
Logwood,	264	tons,	3,911
Lignum vitæ,	176	do.	1,760
Lead and ſhot,	6	do.	810
Mahogany,			18,531
Medicines and drugs,			1,735
Merchandize,			28,156
Melaſſes,	15,537	gallons,	3,904
Muſkets,	100		500
Nankeens,	11	bales	2,315
Oil, linſeed,	119	barrels	1,962
Proviſions.			
Flour,	724,623	barrels	4,591,293
Bread,	75,667	do.	209,674
Meal,	99,973	do,	302,694
	Carried over		12,743,475

			Dolls.
		Brought over	12,743,475
Peas and beans,	38,752	buſh.	25,746
Beef	44,662	barrels,	279,551
Pork,	24,462	do.	208,099
Hams and bacon,	253,555	lbs.	19,728
Butter,	8,379	firkins,	48,587
Cheeſe,	144,734	lbs.	8,830
Potatoes,	5,318	barrels,	6,009
Tongues,	641	do.	1,598
Onions, vegetables,			22,936
Hogs lard,	6,355	firkins,	31,475
Honey,	165	do.	990
Oyſters, pickled,	272	kegs	272
Pimento,	715	bags	4,928
Pepper,	6,100	lbs.	1,440
Paper,	169	reams,	381
Paint,	4,650	lbs.	963
Pitch,	8,875	barrels,	17,488
Rawhides,	230		485
Raw ſilk,	177	lbs.	489
Roſin,	316	barrels,	778
Rice,	100,845	tierces,	1,753,796
Rum, American,	370,331	galls.	135,403
Rum, Weſt India,	12,623	do.	5,795
Raiſins,	213	caſks,	1,205
Salt,	31,935	buſhels,	8,236
Sago,	2,319	lbs.	455
Soap,	597	boxes,	3,967
Snuff,	15,350	lbs.	5,609
Seeds and roots,			2,135
Shoes and boots,	5,862	pairs,	5,741
Sadlery,			5,541
Starch,			1,125
Sugar, loaf,	16,429	lbs.	3,432
Sugar, brown,	33,358	do.	22,37
Saſſafras,	49,504	do.	555
Steel,	163	bundles,	978
Stones ſawed,	170		550
Tallow,	200,020	lbs.	20,722
Tobacco,	118,460	hhds.	4,349,567
Tea,	1,672	cheſts,	121,582
		Carried over	19,852,879

			dolls.
	Brought over		19,852,879
Tar,	85,067	barrels,	126,116
Turpentine,	28,326	do.	72,541
Do. ſpirits,	193	do.	1,032
Tow cloth,	67	pieces,	1,274
Vinegar,	24	caſks,	106
Wines,	1,074	pipes,	83,249
Wax,	231,158	lbs.	57,597
			20,194,794
To the north-weſt coaſt of America,			10,362
Amount of ſeveral returns received ſince the 15th February 1791.			210,810.84
		Total,	*20,415,966.84

* Quarterly returns from ſeveral ſmall diſtricts, are deficient.

A ſummary of the value and deſtination of the exports of the united ſtates, agreeably to the foregoing abſtract.

TO the dominions of France, — —	4,698,735.48
To the dominions of Great Britain, —	9,363.416.47
To the dominions of Spain, —	2,005,907.16
To the dominions of Portugal, —	1,283,462.
To the dominions of the unit. netherlands,	1,963,880. 9
To the dominions of Denmark, —	224,415.50
To the dominions of Sweden, —	47,240
To Flanders, — —	14,298
To Germany, — —	487,787.14
To the Mediterranean, — —	41,298
To the African iſlands and coaſt of Africa	139,984
To the Eaſt-Indies, — —	135,181
To the north-weſt coaſt of America,	10,362
Dollars,	20,415,966.84

IN addition to the foregoing, a conſiderable number of packages have been exported from the united ſtates, the value of which, being omitted in the returns from the cuſtom-houſes, could not be introduced into this abſtract.

Treaſury department, Feb. 18th, 1791.

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